

[Secretary.]

recommendations to make to the Lok Sabha in regard to the said Bill."

- (2) "In accordance with the provisions of rule 127 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha, at its sitting held on the 14th March, 1966, agreed without any amendment to the Delhi Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill, 1966, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 9th March, 1966."

12.23 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

EIGHTY-FIRST REPORT

**Shri Krishnamoorthy Rao** (Shimoga): I beg to present the Eighty-first Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions.

12.28½ hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

**Mr. Speaker:** Mr. Thengondar may continue his speech.

**An hon. Member:** When will the Minister reply?

**Mr. Speaker:** Fourteen hours and twenty minutes have been taken up and five hours and forty minutes remain.

Will the Minister reply today? How much of time would he like to take?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance (Shri B. R. Bhagat):** About an hour.

**Mr. Speaker:** Would he reply today?

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** No; tomorrow.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Minister would reply tomorrow immediately after the Question Hour is over.

**Shri M. G. Thengondar** (Nagapattinam): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in continuation of my speech yesterday, I like to say that in the age-long Nagapattinam Port, passengers and businessmen coming from Malaya and Singapore are not getting proper facilities. They face difficulties in getting passage in the ships owing to their inadequate capacity. Therefore, one more passenger ship should be introduced between Madras and Singapore via Nagapattinam. I have already pointed out this need in my report to Transport Ministry after visiting Malaya and Singapore. The abandoned ancient port in Thoppalur in Tanjore district of Madras State should be renovated and brought to use. There is a proposal to deepen the Vedaranyam Channel. Why the Government has not taken up this work, is not known. This work should be taken up immediately to facilitate transport of paddy and firewood by boat from the extreme south of Tanjore to Nagapattinam.

To remove the industrial backwardness of the Salem district of the Madras State and to give more employment in this region, a steel plant should be set up in Salem district during the Fourth Plan period by utilising the natural resources of this region as well as the Neiveli Lignite without any further delay so as to solve the steel demand in the southern States.

The development of the East Coast Road as a National Highway from Madras to Kanyakumari should be taken up for execution immediately under the Fourth Plan as this road will be of strategic significance for defence purposes and for quickening the movement of transport from Madras to Kanyakumari.

The textile industry, especially the yarn mills which are catering to the handloom industry are hit very hard because of the accumulation of handloom cloth. Under these circumstances one fails to understand the imposition of additional levy of Rs. 7.25 crores on this industry. I, therefore, request the Finance Minister to give relief to the textile industry in the Madras State.

The failure of monsoon and water scarcity throughout the country has adversely affected the food production. In spite of all these difficulties, I am glad that the hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture, Shri C. Subramaniam, has tackled the food problem with great success by his tremendous ability and sincere efforts, and I wish to express my appreciation and compliments to the hon. Minister.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Before I take up some of the aspects of the budget presented by our new Finance Minister, I would like to mention that a lot of criticism has been made in this country regarding the way in which certain taxes have been levied. I would mention for his information some of the aspects of the tax collection, and how, for instance, arrears to the tune of Rs. 100 crores are still outstanding. I do not know how these are going to be realised.

The hon. Finance Minister gave us a picture of our country wherein according to him taxation was necessary in order to bridge the gap. As a result of this, he has taxed some of the commodities like sugar, khandsari, fine cloth and other things, which ultimately hits the common man. I was considering whether this taxation had really affected the common man. From the very next day after the budget was presented, the prices of cigarettes had gone up. Smoking may be bad or may be good, but that is a different matter. Then, the price of sugar, the price of khandsari, the price of fine cloth, and in certain places, the price of

diesel oil also had gone up; as a result of these taxes, the country has suffered, and even the agriculturists have suffered. I do not know whether this taxation was really justified. I know that the country has to prosper and the defence needs are there. Nobody denies that. But right from the formation of this Government, from year to year, the taxation has been increasing and we have to see whether the taxpayer has been benefited to any great extent. I remember that Gandhiji had said that tax was a great sacrifice and the taxpayer had to sacrifice a lot. But then he also said that if a Government which taxed the people could not possibly give relief to the taxpayer, then the taxpayer had every right to protest against it. Because of this, I put a straight question to the hon. Finance Minister, whether the condition of the people has gone down or not. There is a race between hunger and starvation in this country. I am sure hunger and anger are bound to meet some day, as was evidenced in West Bengal and other places. Motives may be imputed of various things. But unfortunately the fact remains that the main trouble started because of no food or inadequate supply of food. I would therefore request the hon. Minister to consider what are the failures of this Government. Has not the Government failed on the food front. We are totally dependent on foreign countries; we have started with a begging bowl for food not only from America but from other countries also. Small boys abroad have started collecting funds for helping India. That may be a good gesture. But why has this entire country been reduced to a country of beggars? We are indebted to the tune of crores to foreign countries. I think we are the country which is indebted most to the world, for which we do not know what our schemes to pay back and regain our prestige before the world are.

Coming to taxation, I ask why the arrears of tax are not recovered.

[Shri S. M. Banerjee.]

Yesterday, my hon. friend, Shri Warrior, mentioned two or three cases. I am told—he has quoted a High Court judgment also, a judgment of Shri A. N. Roy delivered in 1965—that Shri Haridas Mundhra owes Government income and other taxes to the tune of Rs. 1-3 crores. I do not know why this particular case has not been finalised. I am told that Shri Mundhra is trying to settle everything by paying a paltry amount of Rs. 25-30 lakhs instead of Rs. 3-4 crores which is legitimately due from him and which the revenue department has not been able to recover. This is a very sad commentary on the revenue department of our Government. I would like to have a specific answer from the Finance Minister, who is not here to hear me, as to what is happening to this huge amount due from Shri Mundhra.

Another question was put in this House in November 1965 by Shri Dhuleshwar Meena. The question was whether searches were made to know the foreign exchange conserved and hidden in foreign countries....

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath** (Hoshangabad): The Ministers are carrying on conversation in couples without listening to the speech.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Opposition is also helping in that.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** The answer given was that the matter is being investigated.

**Shri Tyagi** (Dehra Dun): The Opposition Members also go over to the Ministers sometime and engage them in conversation.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** It is our misfortune that when we are discussing the Budget, the Finance Minister is absent.

**Mr. Speaker:** Opposition Members are also absent. We should take care to see that all are present!

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Whether it is the Finance Minister or any Minister they are like the three wise monkeys described by Gandhiji—speak nothing, see nothing and hear nothing; do not speak of corruption, do not listen to talk of corruption and do not see corruption.

**Mr. Speaker:** Opposition Members help them do that.

**Shri Tyagi:** May I just say that he is wrongly interpreting what Gandhiji said about injustice? He never said, 'speak nothing.' He said, 'Do not speak ill, do not see ill of others and do not hear anything against others.'

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** They have all become wise monkeys of Gandhiji in the sense, 'do not hear anything of corruption, do not do anything about corruption, do not see corruption, do not speak of corruption.'

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The CBI Report. It is still there, neither confirmed nor denied.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** About this Haridas Mundra the late lamented Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, said that he was a rising star on the horizon. Is it a fact that he is conserving a huge amount of foreign exchange in foreign countries? The question which was put by Mr. Dhuleshwar Meena in November, 1965 has not yet been answered, an evasive answer has been given, whether one of the ex-Cabinet Ministers came to his rescue, went to England, and squared up the whole matter. This is a matter which should be investigated here and now.

Another problem is that this Mundra, in the name of the British India Corporation, in 1956 remitted Rs. 78 lakhs to foreign countries, and one of the Secretaries—I shall place the documents on the Table of the House—or Under Secretaries of the Finance Ministry helped him. There was a

specific noting on the file that where Mr. Mundra was concerned, the Finance Ministry should be cautious, and they should not negotiate with him, but he, in the name of the British India Corporation, gave an undertaking to the Finance Ministry that this was not in his name, but in the name of the British India Corporation, with which he had nothing to do at that time in 1956. He got that amount and Rs. 78 lakhs were remitted, I would request the finance Minister to read the banner headlines in the Blitz of 12-3-1966 about Haridas Mundra which is a scandalous thing, and I would request him to kindly give us an answer to this, as to how this Rs. 78 lakhs were allowed to be remitted abroad, who is responsible for the entire episode, and whether the ex-Finance Minister and one of the Secretaries were involved in giving the green signal to Mundra, saying that it was being done for British India, Corporation, while Mundra has later on filed an affidavit that it was for himself, that he wanted this. These things are coming today. For instance, today in Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co., directors, who are the chums of Mundra, are being nominated by the Finance Ministry. This is a sad affair and a sad commentary.

Another question which is agitating my mind is this. There were searches of the premises of Messrs. Orr, Dignam & Co., Solicitors. In this firm, Mr. Silverston, Mr. B. P. Ray and other big bosses are there, and they have their counterparts, I believe, in foreign countries, and because an officer raided that office, he was rebuked. I would like to get an answer to this why an officer should be rebuked when, he has done his duty, whether it is Silverston or B. P. Ray or any other Ray, because there are big bosses in a foreign country, because they are a premier concern dealing with certain things and have certain foreign exchange, and I want to know definitely what were the documents available after the search.

Then I come to the appalling poverty of the people. Taxation has been

there. I am grateful to the Finance Minister for giving some concessions to the low and middle groups, to Government and other employees getting about Rs. 250 per month, but what about their dearness allowance? The promised meeting has not yet been convened by the Finance Minister. Rs. 5 has been given to the low paid employees, Rs. 100 to those who are getting Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,250—I am not unhappy over it—and Rs. 250 to Rs. 300 to those who are getting more than Rs. 2,250 up to Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 4,000. Rs. it the way of socialism? Are we really leading to socialism? This is a matter to be considered. So, my demand is that the low-paid employees should be better looked after.

There is agitation in all the States. In U.P. the State Government employees have gone on hunger strike for a day. In Andhra, the Government employees are thinking in terms of going on a days token strike. And the Maharashtra and all other State Government employees are also contemplating, thinking in terms of, agitations, an All-India agitation. When they demanded something from the State Government in U. P., the Chief Minister said that she could give more dearness allowance provided the Union Finance Minister paid her something. I want to know whether any financial aid is being given by the Centre to the various States specifically for the purpose of raising the pay and allowances of the Government employees. Dearness allowance has been raised for the central government employees. What about the poor pensioners? The Bharat pensioners' association has been writing to the central government; they get Rs. 30 or 40 or 100. They were given a paltry sum as dearness allowance. What can they do when this government has miserably failed to hold the price line? Any other government would have resigned but they have not resigned. Why not they give some concessions to the pensioners? Whether they are from the army or from the civil side, the pensioners have not a patch of land in

[Shri S. M. Banerjee.]

the country. Government should consider increasing the quantum of pension of those getting less than Rs. 300 or increase the dearness allowance to these people. It is a peculiar thing that whenever we have a discussion here, the prices go up. I do not know what to do. Shri Asoka Mehta was there in the planning commission; he is still there now; he is also a minister he was suggesting certain things and he said that prices will not go down for another ten years; other ministers say that prices will go down. They pay Rs. 5 or 10. There is inflation because of deficit financing also. When Shri Nanda was Planning Minister he was asked whether deficit financing had resulted in inflation and he said that ours was a developing economy and such things happen. The entire cabinet should decide once for all whether the prices are going to come down or not. Today movements can be checked by firing and lathi charge. But it is a fact that the purchasing power of persons getting Rs. 100 has been reduced to merely Rs. 40/- because of the rising prices; the purchasing power of people getting Rs. 40 has been reduced to Rs. 20 or so. People having no houses came out on the pavement and people who were on the pavement are moving towards death, but when questions are asked they say this is a normal death due to heart failure. Unless the heart fails why should people die? The country is passing through critical times. We have to fight foreign aggression and internal disturbances also. While congratulating my respected sister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, I said that she should see that people got two hot meals a day; then only it can be said that this government has succeeded. They say that there will be Ramarajya. It may be done in two ways. Either the Prime Minister of this country becomes Rama and people are really happy; or she becomes Rama and the people of this country become *vanara sena* living on leaves, trees and fruits, and there is no need

for housing and there will be no food problem. I want to know whether we are heading towards which Ramarajya, Ramarajya as conceived earlier or as has been conceived and expressed by me.

**Shri Ranga (Chittor):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday the Prime Minister reminded the House of the extreme need to save, to protect and improve the image of India all over the world. For a long time it was known that the Chinese were very keen on saving their face. The face was the most important thing for them. Now, it looks as if from generation to generation we are now getting into a tradition or making a tradition of saving our image, or making our image. What sort of image are we making for ourselves, not to speak of the outsiders? So far as outsiders are concerned, we know only too well that they have gone round among themselves with a begging bowl on behalf of India in the name of India, in order to gain some small subscriptions even from children and a number of other people also in other countries, in order to get money, food materials, and then send them over here, in order to appease our hunger, and to save our people from mass deaths from hunger. On the other hand, our Ministers, one after the other, hasten to say that there are no hunger deaths at all in this country, but yet we know it for a fact that nearly half of the population of our country is undernourished.

Once again, another campaign has been started by our own Ambassadors and representatives all over the world to go round and tell all those countries that there are no hunger deaths at all in this country, that there is no widespread starvation and that there is only a certain amount of scarcity; and therefore, if they are willing, they are welcome to send us charity, but otherwise, they need not think of saving their souls by trying to save our own hungry people in our country.

That is the image that we have created in the rest of the world. It is not done by the Opposition; it has been done by the callous policies of this government, on the food front as well as on the various other fronts including the nutritional front.

What is the image that we ourselves in this country have pictured through the debates in this House? My hon. friend, Shri Masani, has already given the answer on behalf of our party and our movement from the economic point of view to the thesis that has been presented here and to the country through the budget. I wish to concern myself with the politico-economic aspect of the budget as well as the economic activities of the Government that are behind this budget, which all go to give the impression and the image first to ourselves and next to the rest of the world. So far as this debate has gone, we all find that these three five year Plans have accounted for the transference of our national income, capital and borrowings in and outside India to the tune of more than Rs. 27,000 crores, which is so colossal and unprecedented, to the States and the Union Government. Yet, these governments have so mismanaged their finances and placed our national economy in such a parlous condition that even today we are obliged to depend so largely on borrowings from abroad and continuous doses of deficit financing and inflation and ever higher tempo of taxes.

If there is at all any disagreement among the Members who have taken part in the debate, it is that some are not satisfied with the Government raising only Rs. 6.2 crores in 1966-67 from the rich by way of direct taxes, when compared to Rs. 173 crores in 1955-56, that is, over a period of 12 years, whereas as much as Rs. 1,529 crores are to be raised from the general public as compared to Rs. 312 crores only by way of central excises, during the same period. The direct burdens on the rich have increased three times as against the fivefold additional burdens on the general public.

All are agreed now, though that was not so when our party sounded a warning to the country five years ago, that inflation has become a menace, deficit financing a dangerous disease, price-spiral has been upsetting not only the stability of people's home budgets but also those of the Governments, and that the Government have committed themselves to such spree of public expenditure and so many projects and schemes of long gestation, that successive Finance Ministers at the Centre and State levels have found it impossible to balance their budgets without raising ever-increasing public borrowings, tax-burdens and further doses of deficit financing, open or disguised, budgeted or not.

The Central Government which used to be content with a budget of less than Rs. 300 crores before 1950 and which felt proud of raising it to Rs. 485 crores by the end of the first Plan, has now come before us with this budget for Rs. 2,191 crores of tax collections. Will it be content with this exorbitant demand on our people's resources? Its fourth Plan threatens to collect as much as Rs. 3,000 crores by way of additional taxation, that is, five times as great a fresh burden per annum on the average as what is now being imposed.

Almost all members are unhappy about this year's additional tax imposts. So have they been every year, as successive burdens have been raised during these 15 years of this plan-period, but one wonders how they would feel when the tempo of these burdens comes to be raised fivefold.

All are deploring the failure of the per capita national income to rise to any appreciable degree. Indeed, we find it has not justified the anticipations of the planners. There are differences between government spokesmen and the opposition as to the quantum of per capita income and that of the agricultural workers, who are the poorest section of our masses and also about the degree of malnutrition, but they all agree that it is less

[Shri Ranga.]

than 75 paise and nearly half our population is under-nourished and the process of gradual and creeping loss of vital energy needed to make our workers efficient, energetic and productive is sapping the national vitality and weakening our total capacity for building up surplus national wealth.

There is general agreement that the chronic evil of unemployment, and the resultant under-nourishment, instability in family economy and life, has not been faced at all and that the unemployment among the small educated groups is growing faster than our national income or wealth. Is there any other nation in the world, when populations are compared, where the people are groaning under such unemployment?

Everyone complains at the slowing down of the industrial development. Textile industry is threatened with rising accumulated unsold stocks and closure of more and more factories. We need only remind ourselves of the plight of Ahmedabad and Coimbatore textile workers who are thus threatened with total or partial unemployment to realise the failure of these budgets to inject hope into our economy.

There is unanimity among us all that it is wasteful of our national resources to continue to allow the engineering industry, the light engineering industry, textiles, mines, chemical and non-ferrous metal industries and even the sewing machines, bicycles and electric fan industries to work at less than their full capacity. Machine tool industry, many chemicals like caustic soda, and soda ash and even sewing machines, bicycles and electric fans industries are all working below capacity for want of imported raw materials, spare parts, etc.

Coming to irrigation, we have invested about Rs. 1800 crores as plan expenditure. We started with 11 million acres. Now we are going to end with 18 million acres of irrigation potential. But actually we are able to

make use of only 15 million acres. So, upto 20 per cent of the irrigation potential created at the enormous plan expenditure of more than Rs. 1800 crores is going unutilised, because of the failure of the government to provide the necessary facilities for the peasants as well as the local governments.

We are all agreed that the government has been allowed all so patiently by our patriotic people to raise Rs. 3000 crores through additional taxes for its plans. But the Government has been so inconsiderate as to increase its expenditure on non-development items by 400 per cent. There is also complete agreement among us all including the government that there is too much wastage in public expenditure, redundancy in administration and too much of red-taps and corruption. So, our demand has been accepted, in principle, that there is scope for imposing economy cuts both at the stage of formulating the Demands for Grants by the spending departments and also at the stage of allowing them to draw upon the Consolidated Fund, to the tune of 10 to 20 per cent. The late Prime Minister had assured the nation that "it is necessary to make sizeable cuts in government expenditure, both at the Centre and the States". If only it is zealously carried out, there can be a saving of more than Rs. 300 crores out of Rs. 2407 crores of expenditure on the Revenue account and more than Rs. 1200 crores from out of Rs. 2160 crores set apart for Capital expenditure. The confession of the previous Finance Minister that the spending ministries are not cooperating and the Prime Minister is unwilling and unable to strengthen the Finance Ministry in achieving economy is the legacy inherited by the present Finance Minister.

13 hrs.

There is unanimity among us all that the expenditure on administration of all types has increased out of all proportion to the national development.

For instance, it has gone up from Rs. 201 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 892 crores and if we take up only the expenditure on administrative services, it has gone up from Rs. 33 crores to Rs. 110 crores. In the matter of police alone they have increased from Rs. 14 crores to Rs. 44 crores, not to speak of the enormous additional expenditure we are incurring on the defence forces. But if only there is any promise or prospect of even one-third of the promised economy cuts, even the 3 per cent cut that was suggested so modestly by my hon. friend, Shri Masani, then this additional taxation need not be proposed at all.

Indeed, if such economy cuts are enforced strictly, both at the centre and State levels, we can save Rs. 300 crores every year or Rs. 1500 crores over the Fourth Plan, and in that way even the astronomical Fourth Plan, as so improvidently prepared by this Government could come to be financed without imposing fifty per cent of the threatened additional tax burdens. Indeed, if that plan is properly pruned, there would be no need for any more tax burdens during the next five years, even while going ahead with all the most essential and productive developmental work, so badly needed and while maintaining the tempo of production and constructive development. Let them hand over the Government to us and we will show how it can be done.

13.02 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Every year Parliament has been complaining that budget under-estimate revenues, in order to justify additional tax impositions, but the Finance Ministers have been disclaiming any such designs. The actuals disprove Finance Minister's assertions. During the Third Plan period, Government offered to raise only Rs. 11,00 crores by additional taxation, where-

as the Finance Ministers managed to impose ever rising tax burdens and actually collected Rs. 2248 crores, that is, more than 100 per cent extra or more than what they had targeted for. There would have been some consolation if only we could have had a more economical and profit-minded, Government. We have to conjure up before our minds eye, if only all this money of Rs. 2248 crores had been left to fructify with the public and if Government had busied itself with encouraging them to develop various enterprises, how much more of industrial and agricultural development and production could have been achieved by the country. Tax burdens absorb now 15 per cent of the national income. They have risen from 7.7 per cent at the end of the First Plan to 96 per cent at the end of the Second. This is the highest as everyone knows. Everybody accepts, from all sides of the House, that India is the highest taxed nation. What benefit has the people derived from you? Has there been a corresponding rise in the national income? Not at all. While the money-supply has increased by hundred per cent, the income of the people has risen by only 60 per cent. So inflation goes on making its awful inroads into the family budgets of the masses. Government gained control over at least Rs. 26,300 crores during this Plan period. The Central revenues alone have gone up by five times from Rs. 439 crores to Rs. 2193 crores during the past fifteen years. Even the States have gone on piling up additional tax-burdens, as for instance, land revenue alone has gone up by Rs. 49.5 crores, irrigation rates have gone up by Rs. 22 crores, and so on. I wish to remind the Government of the offer made by the late Prime Minister, that the irrigation dues should be reduced if not abolished. They have not done anything with regard to that. The Centre has led to spoon-feeding the States. In 1950-51, it advanced only Rs. 61 crores as loans, but by 1961 it rose to Rs. 336 crores. By now it has risen to Rs. 828 crores. This is in addition



[Shri Ranga.]

to what the Centre has been handing over as per the Finance Commission's recommendations. What use have the State Governments been making of these amounts, except wasting it on non-productive, non-developmental, non-planned items, expenditure which are intended to strengthen their political hold over the people in different parts of the country?

Sir, this Government has been most improvident and irresponsible in mortgaging the future wealth of our country to the foreign and Indian creditors through its public debts. It has increased our national debt from Rs. 2,865 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 8,415 crores, with an annual debt-servicing liability of Rs. 350 crores. Thus the per capita indebtedness has come to be Rs. 220, which is more than one year's income of an agricultural worker. This per capita indebtedness has increased by 400 per cent in these 15 years, whereas the population has gone up by only 25 per cent.

This Government gained control over enormous funds, that is, Rs. 26,300 crores raised in and outside India, by taxes, loans, gifts during the Third Plan period. The outside world has contributed as much as Rs. 3398 crores out of a total of Rs. 11,280 crores so far borrowed in all and out of Rs. 26,300 crores devoted to the three Plans; that is, 15 per cent. This budget seeks to appropriate Rs. 2,760 crores by tax-revenues and Rs. 2,277 through capital budget. Yet it is on the brink of insolvency and complains of the inroads made by inflation, which is its own creation. Would it not have been possible for any other Government to raise these loans on easier terms and utilised them better? Could not any other Government have achieved better results with these resources? This Government has indulged in a spree of extravagant expenditure. It has not bothered about the profitability of its public enterprises and its other projects. It did not

achieve any proper control over purchases, stores, disposals, construction and management of our resources invested in public enterprises. It has failed to put a premium on economy. It indulged in the Mughal Emperors' extravaganza on the construction of tens of 'New Delhi' for its projects at a cost of more than Rs. 50 crores on housing, roads and other civil amenities long before the projects would yield any profits. In Neyveli alone, it spent more than a crore on roads. The result is that after investing more than Rs. 1800 crores, it has achieved less than Rs. 1.5 crores as profit and failed to build up internal resources for further investment, even with the inescapable minimum provision for depreciations. As if that is not enough, it proposes to inject another dose of Rs. 400 crores into these public undertakings and more during the next year.

They have tried but in vain to achieve development, but only with borrowed money, obtained from Indian public and also from abroad. In India they raised Rs. 5078 crores. From abroad they got Rs. 3398 crores and from small savings Rs. 2806 crores making a total of Rs. 11,280 crores. Any other Government which has not held the threats of nationalisation, ever rising burdens of taxation, high discrimination against private enterprise and in favour of public enterprise and such restrictions as controls, permits and licences, for beyond what is needed for mere regulation, could have raised these loans and much more at lower rates of interest and with much less pressure upon our public and it would have helped the nation to utilise these enormous funds to much better purpose by entrusting that responsibility to competitive entrepreneurs.

But this Government which is all the time playing with bankruptcy is not able to inspire confidence in the investors. It has played with the value content of the rupee, whose

sacred custody has been entrusted to it, so much so that it has gone on increasing note circulation from Rs. 11,694 crores in 1948-49 to Rs. 27,180 crores by 1965 and justified it in the name of deficit financing for development. What has actually happened is that much more was spent in non-developmental and non-planned directions than on really productive and developmental projects. The nemesis is overtaking the Government as well as the people; in that, the real value content of the rupee has gone down to less than one-third, even to one-fourth and it is pursued by the wolves of dearness-demands from every section of its ever-rising number of employees in administration and public enterprises. More than Rs. 100 crores is paid as dearness allowance. In this process, the masses suffer so terribly, in that, while prices rise by 170 per cent, their incomes rise only by 60 per cent. Thus it is in danger of being infested and overwhelmed by the spiral of inflation, and the public are impoverished in the process.

It is impossible to place much faith in this Government's promise of doing its best to avoid deficit financing and the consequent increase in the pressure for inflation in view of its past performances. For instance, it offered to limit deficit finance during the Third Plan to Rs. 26 crores. But it actually raised Rs. 91 crores, three times as much more by deficit financing at State level and from Rs. 524 crores to Rs. 652 crores, an increase of Rs. 128 crores.

Then, Sir, let us look at it from the point of view of the ordinary masses. How do they look at this budget? Will they be satisfied at all? Let us pause and give some thought to it. Have the conditions of the industrial workers been bettered in any way during all these years, especially during the Third Plan? Not at all. They have to live in towns and hence have to encounter enormous housing problems. Moreover, it is too costly for them as compared to living in villages. No doubt, they get more of wages vis-a-

vis agricultural workers but what about their expenses? Tax burden is more, they have to pay sales tax, they have to pay more for their daily requirements. They have to face all the evils of overcrowding and de-humanised town life. No wonder they become easy victims of every sort of agitation, popular violence and political campaigns.

There is unemployment even among our engineers. This is in strange contrast to what happens in USA, USSR and what we have hoped for. While the total number of our engineers is not higher than what USA trains in a year, our young engineering students can face only these miserable prospects of unemployment and having to stand in the queue. When such is the plight of the trained engineers, you can imagine what must the plight of these industrial workers. There is the lay-off, retrenchment and all other troubles. No wonder the Planning Commission has exclaimed in one of its latest papers of wisdom:

"It may not be possible to expect that conditions of improved levels of living and full employment as understood in many developed countries, will be created in India in the near future. That may have to remain a more distant goal".

This is the latest contribution of the latest Minister, who is in charge of Planning Commission, who was talking some years ago of 'take-off' by aeroplane, jet or not.

What has this Government done for the agricultural workers and peasants? Nothing. Their lot is in no way better than what it was before independence. They constitute 70 per cent of our population and contribute 50 per cent of our national income. As much as 10 per cent of their income is absorbed in taxation; sometimes more than that too. In spite of this, the Government continues to resort to more and more of taxation even on items like cloth, kerosene, sugar, khandsari, matches,

[Shri Ranga.]

betel nut, chewing tobacco, etc. Then, on top of it, land levy has been increased by 100 to 300 per cent in several States. In Andhra when it was increased to 300 per cent the agriculturists went to the court and got a judgment in their favour. This Government is so inhuman and undemocratic as to go to the Supreme Court to appeal against the judgment of the High Court in order to punish and impoverish the peasants who form the majority of voters, thus making a mockery of their loyalty to majority rule. Why did the majority of people go to the court? Because the Government has imposed an unconscionable levy of 100 to 300 per cent on land. The Britishers used to increase land levy only once in 30 years. The agriculturists and industrial workers and the middle classes have been specially hit by the rising burdens of excise duties. For instance, while the general tax-burdens that fall on all classes have risen only 5 times, that is, from Rs. 499 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 2,192 crores in 1965-66, the excise duties have risen from Rs. 67.5 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 969 crores in 1965-66, which is 14 times. This additional burden has fallen on the poor peasants and the urban workers.

This Government has not only failed in its duty towards peasants but has done everything possible to intensify the age-long process of invisible brain of peasant resources for the benefit of urban and industrial classes. It has conspired against them through the manipulation of PL-480 food aid from USA to the tune of Rs. 700 crores by depressing the prices for their foodgrains and thus denying them the proper remuneration for their labours. Yet, our peasant masses have patiently gone on increasing the production of foodgrains from 55 million tons in 1950-51 to 80 million tons in 1964-65.

They say that they are doing their best for agriculture and that the highest priority is being given to agriculture. But they have failed consistently from year to year to fulfil even their

own modest and comparatively lower targets set for the supply of fertilizers. For instance, they promised to provide 3,375,000 tons; but they succeeded in providing only 2,282,000 tons or 33 per cent less than what was targeted for. How can they blame the farmers? While they have done this in the case of fertilizers, in the case of unproductive expenditure for which they had set no target at all, they have spent hundreds of crores of rupees.

It is said that one ton of nitrogen will help to produce 10 tons of foodgrains and one ton of phosphate will yield 7 tons. While Japan is able to use 270.2 kilograms per acre, we are unable to get anything more than 2.4 kilograms. Need there be a more eloquent epitaph for the failure of our plans to tackle the biggest need of India, that is, food production?

They have been magnifying the deficit in regard to food. Even when the production was high, they were importing food from other countries. Last year that was the position and yet they had imported 6 million tons. Actually, ten years ago (1955) they had to import only 8 lakhs tons. At that time we produced very much less than what we are producing today, that is, from 66.8 to 88.4 million tons. Then, why is it that they are saying that there is not enough of foodgrains in this country? On the other hand, the Agricultural Commission has stated that when there was none of these restrictions the per capita production and consumption of food was one ounce higher than what it is today with all these restrictions. Therefore, who is responsible for the present crisis? The zonal restrictions, controls, compulsory procurement, whether it be at the level of the peasants or at the level of mill owners, these are responsible for the present deplorable situation with which we are faced.

Then, let us take the middle class. They are the nerve centres of our economic structure. Have they any

reason to be satisfied? Their lot is the worst because of their loyalty to conventional special standards in food, dress and ceremonies. They share much more than proportionate burdens of increased taxation. They are affected by inflation even more directly. Some of them may be getting increased dearness allowances, but it is unable to keep pace with the spiralling prices. Their housing conditions are worsening. Rent burdens are becoming heavier. They are forced to silently suffer from prolonged period of malnutrition. Unlike the working classes, their families have often no more than one working member earning full wage or salary. In fact with the inflation, high taxation, housing scarcity and scarcity of the most essential daily needs of foodgrains, cloth, sugar and kerosene, they have come to suffer but so silently from continual impoverishment. How can they be grateful to this Government?

The unabated spiral of inflation has consumed the value of hard-earned savings of the middle classes and though private debtors have thereby gained some advantage, the Government, which has been the greatest borrower, and which has used all its compulsive powers to extract their savings as loans, by way of small savings and other campaigns, has gained at the cost of millions of these frugal middle classes. What about businessmen? Are they satisfied? Their speeches in the recent meeting of the Federation bear eloquent testimony to their discontent about the present budget. I will not say anything more than reminding them that the business community are so much dissatisfied with the Government in regard to their policies that they have been saying that they are not able to develop any more of their industries. There is no inducement for any of them to invest their money, not to speak of their enterprise and initiative. It takes years for them to get any kind of licence, after going through all the wretched process of

red-tapism involved in controls. They are obliged to live in constant fear of penalties that follow upon any unwitting infringement of the hundreds of penal clauses of the company law or labour law. They have no longer any security of their management, earnings, profits or even their assets. They know that their work, function or place in our society is not appreciated. Indeed, they are looked upon as the enemies of Socialist Social Order that this Government wishes to achieve. Most of them are made to feel doubtful and fearful of their future. So they are continually induced to avoid taking initiative, venturing on new enterprises and developing their respective enterprises.

Therefore, what is it that the Government should do? I say, primarily it should maintain law and order in the country and develop whatever social security services are needed to implement the fundamental rights and Directive Principles of State Policy, consistent with our national resources. On the other hand, what it has been doing is, to tamper with the fundamental rights of our people, destroying the security of tenure of the peasant through the 14th Amendment for acquiring their small holdings without proper compensation and protection of counter. The Government merely talks of inviting co-operation from opposition parties. From time to time we hear this appeal from these people in power. But are they serious, are they sincere about this? If that is so, if they are actually interested in inviting co-operation from the opposition parties, they would have acted differently. No, they are not interested in that. They are afraid that if they invite co-operation from opposition parties and if opposition is brought into touch with the governmental activities in one form or the other, their powers may be endangered, their privileges may be lost. When they are not prepared to co-operate even with their own dissident Congressmen, what to talk of the opposition?

[Shri Ranga.]

What is it that we demand of this Government? We say that there should be no political interference in administration. There is too much of it today. Ask any Member of the Board of Revenue at the State level or even the Secretaries and Joint Secretaries at the Centre how much of political interference they have to encounter. The Mundhra and Kairon Scandals focussed our attention on the question how Ministers go round these officers and make them use their discretion, not according to their conception of justice but according to what the Ministers, their favourites or supporters would like them to do. Therefore, we demand from the ruling party "hands off the administration". Government can at least invite the co-operation of political parties in advisory capacity in administration of panchayats, co-operatives, control and distribution of consumer's commodities under control, thus avoiding partisan or politically-oriented treatment of people. The distribution of licences, quotas and permits should be entrusted to a non-political judicial body. This should apply to the distribution of import and export permits and also to the issue of licences for various types of business or industries. The Home Minister was flirting with this idea but he was not allowed by the other Ministers, who are interested in making huge collections for the party chest, to go ahead with this particular idea.

Distribution of funds by panchayats should be entrusted to a Commission representing all parties. To prevent corruption amongst politicians in position and officialdom let there be an Ambudsman. This has been a challenge to them to their conscience and till now they have not had the moral courage to accept the challenge from the Opposition.

Government should content itself with the formulation of broad policies and its implementation should be left to the quasi-judicial commission and when found necessary and prac-

ticable as suggested by so many of us. All-party advisory bodies should be appointed at various levels wherever discretion has got to be used between one individual and another, one group and another and one place and another so that allotment and management of permits, licences and distribution of scarce commodities will be dealt with in an impartial manner.

We demand fixation of remunerative as well as minimum level of prices of agricultural produce. There should be tripartite discussions amongst the consumers, producers and traders in regard to foodgrain prices. Zonal restrictions on the movement of foodgrains should be removed immediately. If, in any case, some type of regulation or supervision comes to be needed, that should be decided upon and administered by the tripartite commission suggested above.

Priority to anti-illiteracy campaign should be given. This Government has failed to do all that most basic and important thing all these 18 years I say this for the benefit of my hon. friend who happens to be there in charge of education. It is because of the continuance of illiteracy in this country that this premium has come to be enjoyed by the 'bulls' symbol and my hon. friends have been able to keep themselves so solidly in those benches. Thus they have found in it such a vested interest in this continued illiteracy in the masses and so Government have been avoiding this very primary duty of Government to give priority to anti-illiteracy campaign.

Minimum wages are needed for our agricultural workers. Free house sites also are needed, which have been promised but nothing has been done till now. Housing programme for agricultural workers and poorer peasants is so badly needed, but they are concerning themselves only with the housing problems of industrial

workers—there also they are only tinkering with it—as they are better organised and more vociferous.

Now, what would we do, what is it that we would be able to do when we come to power? The very first thing that I wish to tell them is that the moment we come to power, from that moment onwards we would begin to consider measures in order to abolish land revenue by stages and in one or two years we would be able to abolish land revenue and reduce irrigation rates and power charges and fulfil the unfulfilled wishes of the late Prime Minister.

Are we opposed to planning? Certainly not. My hon. friend, Shri Masani the other day has given a succinct answer to this. We do not believe in Soviet type of planning which places emphasis on statism and heavy industries in preference to small scale industries and agriculture and so on. Agriculture being the main base of our economy should get the maximum emphasis in all our planning.

Are we opposed to taxation? Certainly not. But our fiscal policy should be so devised as to give incentive to developmental activities, private savings and no waste and no corruption. When taxation becomes unbearable the result is the slowing down of development and also in a way less contribution to the exchequer.

No preference to public enterprise at the cost of private enterprise. Only yesterday the Minister was saying that he was going to give preference to the Foodgrains Corporation as against the operations of private trade. Shame on them, I said then and I repeat it now. This Government had the temerity to appoint a Monopolies Commission but I charge this Government of being the biggest and the worst possible monopolist without any kind of a conscience at all. And they have no sense of shame. They come and say, though they want a

mixed economy in this country, they want to give preference to their own wanted public enterprise like the S.T.C. which profiteer, and indulge in waste as against all these lakhs and lakhs of private competitive entrepreneurs in our country.

We have invested Rs. 1,800 crores in public enterprise and with what miserable results? Yet, they talk in that manner! We believe in encouragement being given to private enterprise as they can bring in economic development and prosperity to the country. Wherever there is not enough competition it would be the sacred duty of the Government to try and intervene on behalf of the public. Whenever we find in certain sectors that the private sector is trying to exploit the consumer, we can bring in public enterprise for healthy competition. We have no objection to that.

Are we going to denationalise all the public enterprises? No, but certain of the enterprises, if they are being mismanaged over a prolonged period, they would be handed over to such of the private entrepreneurs as come forward in a competition to run them and show better results. That is what Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj was saying yesterday. And he is the son of one of the most veteran national leaders of our country.

We will try our level best to develop railways and road communications and have proper co-ordination between them. It is essential to link all our villages with the main districts and towns.

We will not resort to inflation. That is one big thing we would do. It may take time; it may take one year in order to put a complete stop to it, but we would make a genuine effort and we would give the highest priority to it.

We will abolish land revenue, as I have said. We would reduce central

[Shri Ranga.]

excises to 10 to 25 per cent on consumer goods and industrial raw materials. We will cut sales-tax by 25 per cent. We will try to give income-tax exemption up to Rs. 7,200 and give relief to all those people who are suffering therefrom.

If we do this, will it be possible for us to balance our budget?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Ranga: I hope, I have got five minutes more.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You had 35 minutes, and you have taken 35 minutes.

Shri Ranga: Anyhow, I am concluding. We want this Government to do which we would be able to do, which any sensible government other than this Government—they have been insensible—would do. And what is it? It is, a cut of 33-1/3 per cent in the duties on kerosene betelnut tobacco, cigarette, bidi.....

Shri B. R. Bhagat: Tobacco also?

Shri Ranga:..... chewing tobacco, bidi, cloth, sugar and all such other consumer goods or commodities. We will try to abolish the duty on kerosene as soon as we possibly can. It was most unfortunate that this Government should have been so very persistent in keeping it up.

We would also abolish the Gold Control Act. Gold control has not achieved anything at all by way of preventing smuggling. Yet, they are hugging this because it is their child just as a mother hugs her own crippled child, these people keep on hugging their dead children like this.

We would treat the traders and businessmen as enemies. We would like the Government also to invite

their co-operation in an honourable partnership. We will not treat industrialists as enemies number one of the public as they are doing all the time.

When these duties are removed, how would it be possible, people would say to carry on development? We would be able to carry on development by achieving economy, by using the money in the best possible manner, not in the manner in which they have done, and not using public resources and public powers and governmental privileges for party purposes as they have been doing. We will try and see that the Swatantra Government would be run in the same manner as Rajaji had run it in Madras, not once but several times.

Shri K. C. Sharma (Sardhana): And he was ousted.

Shri Ranga: He was not because you people were not satisfied with his impartial administration. You wanted your loaves and fishes and he would not allow you to swallow them. Therefore, the Congress people, who happened to be so much annoyed with him, wanted him to go. No wonder that he had to go. Therefore, we will wait until people in our country develop this much of political commonsense and wisdom as would elect only those people who would turn their backs on all the methods of corruption that the Congress people have made so very popular in our country, and who would swear that they would not become any richer than what they are when they become members of legislature and ministers.

It is in that way that we want the governmental machinery to be re-organised and the budgetary policies to be re-oriented. We hope that in 1967 this Government would receive the blows and the kicks that they do deserve. I sincerely hope that they will not be able to come back with these carried ranks of 370 people put-

ting down opposition, downing democracy from one State to another and then doing things in such an irresponsible and undemocratic manner.

Shri P. E. Chakraverti (Dhanbad): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, as you know budget making is a process which is process which is rather beset with certain difficulties it is an appraisal of the practical limits as against the demand of time. Shri Sachin Chaudhuri, the new Finance Minister, has been pitted between two forces, namely, past commitments, the Constitutional obligations, the urges of the developing economy and the demands of the rising expectations.

The other side is not too a rosy picture, that is, of our slow rise in national dividend and the forces, namely, internal forces as well as external forces, of aggression which make us bear an additional expenditure on defence plus other concomitant factors. Naturally, the Budget has got to be a rather tight-rope walking and that is what Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri did. I admire his courage, candour and alacrity with which he has come forward to take the responsibility and to place before the House, with in such a short compass, of time the Budget which is a balanced Budget. Of course, he says himself:

"The budget for 1966-67 is the first of the Fourth Five Year Plan. It should, therefore, give to the Fourth Plan as good a start as is possible consistent with the immediate need to restore a greater measure of monetary and price stability."

My hon. friend Mr. Malaviya raised the question of the Bhubaneswar resolution and others which we adopted in different sessions of the Congress. We also expect the people in power, in Government, to act upto the same. With your permission, I may say that the accent of the socialist pattern had

been replaced in the Third Plan by the word socialism. Naturally we have to analyse the connotations of the word 'socialism'. It signifies that the progress has to be achieved to a level at which the well-being of the masses of the population, can be secured and the provision for basic needs of every individual has to be encouraged. Everyone should have equal opportunities, a joint share and a just share in the fruits of profits. Privileges, disparities and exploitation should be eliminated. It is necessary to bring about a limitation of income and property in private hands. This should apply specially in respect of inherited wealth and urban property. The State should secure a large share of capital gains and appropriate a much larger proportion of unearned income. I propose to put forward certain ideas which are called the strategy of socialist plan and in the chalking out of the strategy, the technique of planning, we have to take into account certain basic factors and that is what I will do, as one who is wedded to democratic socialism. The essential needs which have to be satisfied are the following, that is, (1) national minimum of level of living; (2) change in the institutional structure of productive capacity; (3) reduction in the inequalities of income and wealth; (4) equalisation of opportunities and (5) prevention of concentration of economic power in private hands.

I am rather in a strange predicament. I have had an occasion to move a resolution in the All India Congress Committee session in October, 1964, at Guntur with regard to the ceiling on urban property. The A.I.C.C. unanimously adopted the resolution that certain form of ceiling should be introduced for the urban property commensurate with the policy which had been accepted so far as the rural areas were concerned. Today, we are hearing protests from the representatives of the rural areas, that the entire bias of the ad-



[Shri P. R. Chakraverti.]

ministration is tilted in favour of urban people and, naturally, they nurse considerable grievance on this score. Uptill now, that policy of urban property ceiling commensurate with the policy which had been accepted by the Government has not been brought forward. I again moved that very resolution in this House. Unfortunately, the Government was not a mood to accept it and came forward with their own suggestion that a comprehensive resolution would be placed before the House. On the assurance of the Minister, of course, I did not press it to vote. But the Opposition Members pressed it to vote and as a result, the resolution mooted by me was negatived. I have yet to see the Finance Minister coming forward with a substantive resolution in that direction. I tried to bring forward the aspect that the unearned income should be taxed and I would say that it should be taxed to the extent of 90 per cent so that the inequalities of income and wealth should be narrowed down ultimately in the interest of the suffering people, the last and the lowliest.

May I draw your attention to my article which has been published under the heading "the pertinent question" which had been put to the Home Minister by pavement dweller when he went out on a stroll in the streets of Delhi in the month of December, in the rigours of winter. Hundreds of people had been living on pavements. 36 people had died. The Home Minister accosted them, "How it is that you are dying on the pavements without caring for self-protection?" And the man facing the death, the agony of death, gasping in his last breath, put a counter-question, "May I know what have you done for us during the last 18 years?"—the pertinent question; that is the heading I gave—"The glow of freedom, the lustre and light may have illumined some mansions. But what about the people like me? "

In this connection, I would also like to quote George Orwell who says:

"...The most atrocious injustices, cruelties, lies, snobberies exist everywhere but there are not many people, who can regard these things with the same indifference as say, a Roman slave-owner.

Even the millionaire suffers from a vague sense of guilt, like a dog eating stolen leg of mutton. Nearly everyone, whatever his actual conduct may be, responds emotionally to the idea of human brotherhood."

It today this question is put forward by the last and the lowliest man that no glimpse of light has had occasion to reach people like him, who is burdened with agony and privations, we have to find an answer to this question. So, this is the most important aspect which has to be taken into account by the Finance Minister that the last man should get first priority.

Then, here I have got another picture of the miserable condition of the people in the memorandum which has been presented to me by the teachers, the community to which I belong. 7000 teachers of West Bengal Colleges and Calcutta University have made a representation to the Education Minister. They say:

"A teacher on being appointed in a non-government affiliated college in West Bengal, draws at the end of each month a poor sum somewhere near Rs. 200 only (Rs. 150 as basic pay and Rs. 50 as College D.A.). Then there are colleges where the basic pay is lower than even Rs. 150; there are colleges where College D.A. is less than Rs. 50, it being only Rs. 35 in most Government-sponsored colleges."

Naturally, there is acute discontent amongst them. They placed their

case before the Ministry and they have got a reply—(today, the whole of Bengal is excited over this question)—that because of the paucity of funds, though the rise in their earnings has been recommended by U.G.C., it is not as yet possible for the Education Ministry to grant them any extra allowance. Naturally, the teachers are feeling perturbed on this score and they have threatened to go on strike. The results are dangerous. This is what they say in their representation which is a printed document:

"When the teachers are pushed, as they have been in our case by the Governments' intransigence, to the path of active movement, it is inevitable that whatever course of action is taken by college teachers cannot but affect the students."

That is what is happening in Calcutta, the biggest city seething with millions of population. Because of the unrest amongst the teachers, it has its own impact on the students and the students are the prospective leaders of the Community.

We must realise that the fixed income group is hit hard by the spiraling rise in prices. The real earning is going down though the dearness allowance is increased. The moment the dearness allowance is increased, there is a rise in prices. There is a race between rise in dearness allowance and rise in prices and the rise in prices gets ahead of the rise in dearness allowance. Naturally the real earnings are adversely affected. I appreciate the statement made by the Finance Minister, while recommending recently the increase in the dearness allowance of Central Government employees that it was the last time they were been given that D.A. increase and that some other measures would be adopted to ensure that the real earnings were not affected. I appreciate this.

I would again say that, in the labour area, from where I come, I find the

same difficulties. The wage earners get an interim wage rise as a result of the recommendations of the wage board because the price has gone up. The rise in the interim wages does not give him anything substantial. On the other hand, the consumer is taxed. The moment we give a rise in earnings of the colliery worker, immediately the prices of coal and other commodities go up. The consumer is affected and the labour comes again for fresh increase. So some positive method should be adopted to ensure the essential supply of the necessities of life at controlled prices to the people who belong to the fixed income group.

Let us take the case of the low income middle income groups. They demand houses. In this very city of Delhi, for the last sixteen years I have been pursuing this. In the Delhi Assembly, I was the spokesman and here also I am saying the same thing. Out of about 93,000 government employees, only about 35,000 have been supplied with houses and nearly 60,000 employees are still standing today in the queue for small accommodation. They have to go to Karol Bagh or some other place and pay a very heavy rent. There is another technical term which has been imported here from Bombay—pugree, i.e., some illegal gratification has to be paid so that the person gets the accommodation. It means a great slice off his income. Naturally, the fixed income group demand that those people who have unearned income must be taxed to the extent of 90 per cent, so that this money can be used for housing those people who have no chance of building houses of their own. The LIC gives grants of loans for building houses. Still the requirements are immense and colossal. Government can never fulfil it unless Government comes out with a positive formula of implementing the suggestion of taxing the unearned income of the privileged few. I will again request the Minister to see whether they can bring a substantive resolution.

[Shri P. H. Chakraverti.]

Refugee, as I am, I have placed a positive programme before the Exodus Commission appointed by the Government of India, which had asked me to prepare this to solve the rehabilitation problem. I gave the figure of Rs. 950 crores absolutely necessary and I stated that I would take the responsibility of rehabilitating the displaced persons from my area, i.e., East Bengal. When I placed it before the Minister—it was Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari—he unreservedly said that Finance would never stand in the way of rehabilitation; so long as the formula was specifically stated and the policies correctly laid down, there should not be any difficulty. But unfortunately he has gone out. I got three copies made. I sent one copy to the late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri; he appreciated my effort; he went to Tashkent and never came back. I gave a copy to the Home Minister; he praised my efforts and sent it to Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, but he resigned and went away. I sent one copy to Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, but he resigns. What can I do? Interruptions). Three copies have gone astray. Still I have got another copy. I shall place it before the Finance Minister for his consideration. The rehabilitation problems are still there. I have placed my report officially before the Exodus Commission, which will, I think, be printed. This rehabilitation problem is an acute one whose manifestations are being evidenced today in outbursts of anger and frustration. West Bengal is crowded with 43 lakhs of my own people and 90 lakhs more are waiting at the border to cross the frontier. This is a stupendous problem. Faced with this problem, I would run away in seven days. The Chief Minister of West Bengal is trying to do something, but it can hardly be tackled by the West Bengal Government. It is impossible for the West Bengal Government to deal with this problem unless the Government of India comes forward. The minority people in East Pakistan are there waiting at the

frontier; they are scared of genocide and other atrocities committed there. Naturally they want to come away here and seek shelter in India to which they rightly belong. I have given the figure of Rs. 950 crores. I have worked out the details. It is a colossal sum, but it is the indispensable minimum.

In this way, if we take up one by one the problems confronting us, I find that people of all sectors are appreciably unhappy. Though we have made our honest efforts, a lot more has to be done. The Home Minister goes to Calcutta and meets the intellectuals, the Vice Chancellors, tradesmen, the trade union people, the politicians, the MALs and MPs; he gets a glimpse of the agony and sufferings of the people of West Bengal; immediately he proposes certain solutions. But unfortunately we find that the moment the detenus come out of the prisons, they come out with fresh demands. A Commission of Inquiry is going to be appointed; yet, they say that they are not happy and they are not going to sit with the Chief Minister. Why? Because these are the pent up feelings accumulated for years together which have created a sense of bitter unhappiness, a form of desolation in the minds of the people, as I told earlier, the reaction of pavement dweller, Nandaji went out in the rigours of December winter of Delhi; he went out of his own sympathy and compassion for the suffering people. Yet, the pavement dweller confronts him with the remark, "you have done nothing for me". He knows that he is dying out; still he says that. So it is something which has to be taken into account seriously.

I quote a sentence which was used by that great revolutionary and Nobel Laureate, Albert Camus. He wrote in 1937:

"Every time I hear a political speech or read the writings of our leaders, I am frightened at having heard nothing for years, which gives a human sound. They are

always the same words telling the same lies, and in the fact that men put up with them, that the people's anger has not yet broken those puppets—there is strangeness about it."

Are we going to reach that sad state debacle? Here in our country we profess ourselves voteries of democratic socialism. We do not want that some superimposed will, attuned to extraneous philosophy, should guide our destiny. We know that we are the custodians of the people's aspirations and we have already placed before them our enunciated policies and programmes. We must take courage to see that the programmes are implemented. Nobody should have occasion to doubt our integrity, our honesty and purposiveness of the will, which we have ourselves accepted as a part of our own obligation. I will again suggest to the Finance Minister and to the Government of India that, despite all our serious attempts, we must realise that there is considerable unrest still manifesting itself in different forms and finding ugly expression when the other forces—calling themselves as leftist forces—when the heterogeneous elements combine together and try to give vent to the feelings of agony and dissatisfaction. Let us grapple with the problems squarely and see whether we can now keep our flag aloft and carry out our policies and programmes effectively. We have to tell them strongly, unreservedly and sincerely that we mean to carry them out; that we mean business.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Mr. Rameshwar Rao.

Shri Rameshwar Rao (Gadwal): The Finance Minister has had an extremely difficult job to perform. To frame a budget . . . (Interruptions).

श्री रा० रा० सिवारी (खजुराहो) :  
6 रोज हो गये यहाँ बराबर इन्तजार में बैठे हुए लेकिन अभी तक बुलाया नहीं गया है।  
इधर देखते ही नहीं है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Till 6 O' Clock as many members will get a chance as is possible.

Shri S. N. Chaturvedn (Firozabad): One who speaks with anger is rewarded. I thought it was only in the world outside that violence was paying. But in this House also it appears that those who show disrespect to the Chair have their

श्री ए० ए० बाबूपाल (गंगानगर) :  
कृत्र नेम्बर तो रोज बोलते हैं जब कि दूसरों को कभी मौल नहीं दिया जाता है। हम पंद्रह साल से इस हाउस के मेंबर हैं। चूँकि हम पार्टी के डिप्लिनि में बंधे हुए हैं, इसलिए हम कृत्र नहीं कहते हैं।

Shri Rameshwar Rao: The Finance Minister has indeed had a difficult job to perform. To frame a budget for a country like ours, reconciling the requirements of defence and development, in conditions that we are facing today, of drought, of a certain lack of buoyance in the economy, and however mild, circumstances which could be considered inflationary, is not an easy task, and yet I think the Finance Minister has performed this task with ability and competence.

I have listened with care to the speeches of many hon. Members in this House, and I have read with diligence the speeches of others whom I did not have the privilege to listen to here. Some comments like those of my friend the hon. Member for Rajkot, who is not here just now, Shri M. P. Masani, exuded depression. I have listened to Shri Masani year after year and the depression that he exhibits is not something very new. The learned professor Shri H. N. Mukerjee spoke in the strain of a defeatist dialectic. That is not surprising either. My friend Shri hon. Nath Pai became oratorical with his statistics. And my learned colleague, the hon. Member from Jhunjhunu was erudite in detail.

[Shri Rameshwar Rao]

The problems of this country are of such a wide spectrum that it is possible for people of different persuasions, political or economic, to come to different conclusions from the facts before us. That is not surprising. There are elements of truth in most of the criticism that has been advanced. But one has to take an overall picture. The budget, after all, is an instrument of Government's policy; Government's policy which has been explicitly indicated over the last eighteen years and has been put into practice is something that all of us know, and as the previous budgets have tended to implement this policy, so has this budget too. That is nothing new.

I think it was Shri H. N. Mukerjee who said that this budget indicated a good-bye to socialism. I do not see how one budget can indicate a good-bye to any philosophy of economic development. If anything, what Shri H. N. Mukerjee said was a travesty of truth. And yet it is very interesting that almost every hon. Member in this House has made his claim on the basis of the Economic Survey presented by the Finance Minister and the first part of the hon. Finance Minister's speech. He has been complimented that the facts in his speech are correct and that his analysis is unexceptionable.

Shri Nath Pai referred to the United Nations survey on under-developed countries wherein India's growth rate has been put at the bottom of the ladder. I wonder if Shri Nath Pai remembers that three years ago a similar survey placed India's growth rate pretty high. Is it easy to forget what happened in this country during the last four years starting with the Chinese attack? I still remember Shri Nath Pai's brilliant intervention in this House when the Colombo Proposals were being discussed, when he said that as a result of the Chinese attack, we had had to resort to massive taxation.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: Whom is my hon. friend addressing? There is no

body sitting on the Opposition Benches.

Shri Rameshwar Rao: None of them is here; they are not interested perhaps.

It is also interesting that the capital market which suffered a certain setback then has not really recovered. So, what has happened since then has only helped to alleviate the shock of the capital market, and I do not think that anything new has been done which goes to further create difficulties for gathering capital for development. We cannot also forget that only a few months ago we had our conflict with Pakistan; the strain which was put on the economy then, and the drought that we are facing, the worst in a hundred years, all these add up to no small bill. We require to continue with our developmental effort. We require greater resources and the Finance Minister has the difficult task of raising these resources. If anything, the Finance Minister has removed certain psychological irritants like tax on bonus shares etc.

I do not think that the criticism that has been levelled against him that he has shown preference to big business can stand the test of scrutiny. He has taken from the income-tax assessee an additional Rs. 24 crores and from the corporate sector an additional Rs. 43 crores. This cannot be considered a concession to big business or to industrialists.

You will appreciate, Sir, that the annual budget has to be framed in the light of the prevailing circumstances and has to give emphasis to a particular trend or to curb certain undesirable developments in others. A corollary to the recent conflict with Pakistan has been that many countries which were assisting us with aid, for reasons proclaimed or otherwise withheld this aid. It may take a few months for all these knots to be untied and the aid to be resumed. This will naturally affect industrial pro-

duction which will in turn create conditions of want and scarcity.

14 hrs.

One cannot judge the performance of the economy over one year or eighteen months or even two years. One will have to take the process of development that has been going on over the last fifteen years. Over the last fifteen years, food production has gone up by nearly 70 per cent, jute production has increased by 50 per cent, cotton production by 60 per cent, and general industrial production by 140 per cent, while machinery production alone has gone up by 800 per cent, electricity by 400 per cent, chemicals by 300 per cent while the national income has risen by 60 per cent. These are the indicators of economic growth and development. Surely, this is not a picture either of a bankrupt country or of a stagnant economy. If I might quote from the Economic Survey, agricultural production increased by 10.5 per cent in 1964-65 as compared with a rise of 3.7 per cent in 1963-64, a decline of 5 per cent in 1962-63 and a small increase in 1961-62. The production of foodgrains reached the level of 88.4 million tonnes in 1964-65. Industrial production increased by 7 per cent in 1964-65 as against 8.5 per cent in 1963-64 and 7.7 per cent in 1962-63. There have been significant increases in the output of steel, aluminium and cement. Coal output has increased by three million tonnes as compared to last year. National income in real terms has risen by 7.3 per cent in 1964-65 as compared to 4.5 per cent in 1963-64 and 2.2 per cent on an average during the first two years of the Third Plan. The per capita availability of cereals in 1959 was 13.8 ounces per day while in 1965 it was 14.5 ounces per day excluding imports. The production of nitrogenous fertilisers increased from 145 thousand tonnes in 1961-62 to 234 thousand tonnes in 1965-66. Yet, I am willing to agree with a number of critics that enough has not been achieved. In a country as poor as

India and as hungry as India it will take a long time before any of us can say that we have done enough. Yet, we cannot overlook the fact that a great deal has been achieved.

As to whether an extra Rs. 100 crores of taxation was necessary this year or could have been avoided is a matter of detail. In any case, when PL. 480 receipts would be lower, next year, I hope this additional amount of resources would be necessary and instead of taxing Rs. 200 crores next year it is possible the Finance Minister thought it wiser to take a hundred crores this year and hundred crores next year.

Many hon. Members remarked that planned expenditure is lower this year than last year and also objected to revenue receipts being diverted, to plan investment. It should be recalled that many items which would normally form part of plan expenditure in the last year of a Plan would become non-plan expenditure in the first year of the next Plan. This is a matter of call it, budgeting, if you like; but if you add up the total amount to be spent this year, on both revenue and capital account, and compare it with the amount spent last year, on revenue and capital account, the total amount that we will be spending this year is higher than last year.

There has been a reference to taxation being more on the poor man, who cannot afford to pay. I have already indicated that Rs. 24 crores are being taken from income-tax assesseees and Rs. 45 crores from the corporate sector. Other taxes proposed are: an excise duty on crystal sugar which is to bring in an additional revenue of Rs. 21.93 crores, duty on tobacco Rs. 9 crores, on light diesel oil Rs. 5 crores and fine cloth, rayon yarn and synthetic yarn Rs. 6 crores. I do not see how these taxes are taxes on the poor man. You will be interested to know, Sir, that, taking the case of

[Shri Rameshwar Rao]

sugar, the sugarcane produced in this country is 122 million tonnes. Sugar refined from this is 3 million tonnes of which 10 per cent is exported outside the country. The bulk of the sugarcane, that is, 70 per cent, is utilised for the production of gur and only 30 per cent is used for the manufacture of refined sugar. It means that 70 per cent of sugarcane is used for gur production which is consumed in this country. Gur is the poor man's sweetening agent and not sugar. If people want to buy sugar, I do not see why they should grudge paying a little more in taxes.

Even if the entire indirect taxes this year are considered to be a burden on the poor man, it works out per capita one rupee per year.

In passing, Sir, I would like to refer to what the hon. Member, Shri K. D. Malaviya mentioned regarding fertiliser production—I do not think he is here now. He criticised the Government's fertiliser policy. He also objected to freedom being given by Government to the producer regarding price fixation. Today, we are producing in this country 3,00,000 tonnes of nitrogenous fertiliser. We are importing another 300,000 tonnes. Our requirement is 1.2 million tonnes. In conditions of such scarcity I fail to understand where the price factor comes in. Farmers in my part of the country are paying four to five times the official price to get fertilisers. It must be so in other parts of the country too. In any case, what is it that the Government has offered. They said that only fertiliser factories that will be licensed before 31st March 1967 will be permitted, on going into production, to sell 70 per cent of their production through their own arrangements. 30 per cent will be taken over by Government to be given to various areas which may require it. It will also serve as a check on unlimited price rise. When we are hungry, food from any quarter is welcome. If you want to grow more food in this country, you require ferti-

liser. I would say, fertiliser from any quarter is welcome, whether it is from the State sector, public sector, private sector or even foreign industrial ventures. Otherwise we cannot overcome the present food shortage in this country. I am indeed surprised, therefore that Shri Malaviya should think that any stick is good enough to beat this Government with, especially when he is one who recently left this Government under a cloud.

In conclusion, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I would like to submit that the primary cause for the malaise in our economy as well as our agricultural development has not been highlighted either in the speech of the Finance Minister or in the Economic Survey presented to this House. I have heard carefully what the hon. Members of this House have said. They have also not thought it necessary to mention this fact. I would submit that the main reason for the slow growth of India's economy and agriculture is that while on the one hand we want a modern industrial society, on the other the tools we employ for this modernisation are certainly, if not obscurantist, at least out-moded. The major tool required for the modernisation of India's economy and agriculture is the mind of persons who are involved in this process. Unless this mind can think in revolutionary terms, unless this mind can think in modern terms, how can the economy be modernised, how can agriculture be modernised? We continue to think in out-moded tribal grooves based on superstition, on caste and on a refusal to experiment with something new. Unless we are willing to change at this level, I fail to see how we can modernise our economy and step up our growth rate. What is happening today in Bengal? What happened in the Punjab and what is happening in the Punjab? What happened yesterday in Delhi? These are indicators of an un-modern mind, if I might call it that.

We burn jeeps and scooters. They have no voice on whether we should have the Punjabi Suba or not. We burn government property. In a poor country, where it takes so much suffering and pain to build up public property, like juvenile delinquents we go and burn it.

**Shri Shashi Ranjan (Pupri):** Not government property, national property.

**Shri Rameshwar Rao:** National property, private property, whatever property, it is burnt.

I will give one example and conclude. Take the question of cattle protection. We claim to be worshippers of the cow. It is agonising to see in the country the way we look after our cattle. If only one goes out of India to Australia, Europe and America and sees how cattle are looked after there, it gladdens one's heart. Milk yields there are something phenomenal. If I were to suggest that of the 200 million cattle we have in this country, we should be willing to set up Abattoirs in different parts of the country and slaughter the useless ones and export the hides and skins and meet foreign exchange shortage and use the blood and bones for fertiliser, there will be a howl and people will throw stones at me.

This is the dichotomy in our thinking. If we want to modernise our industry, if we want to modernise our agriculture, if we want to modernise our economy, we must start thinking in modern ways. I will not blame the Finance Minister for the stagnation in our economy and agriculture, I would blame our Minister of Education.

The hon. Minister of Education is not here. We should overhaul our educational system so as to make us think differently, so that we start becoming modern in our thinking. I would like Government to apply its mind to that.

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**Shri Liladhar Kotoki (Nowgong):** I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister on presenting a realistic Budget which we are discussing in this debate. This is a realistic budget because it has taken stock of the present economic situation and the goals of our plans and policies outlined in the Economic Survey itself. The goals have been placed from time to time before the House and the House has approved of them. The economic trends have been detailed in a graphic way in the Economic Survey. The Finance Minister has tried to find ways and means to meet the immediate needs, with an eye to the future requirements of our economy.

If we look at the various measures that the Finance Minister has proposed we find that he has first taken drastic steps to cut down avoidable expenditure and he has only stopped short of going to self-defeating limits. Secondly he has tried to augment the collection from existing revenue resources and find out as much money as possible to finance our requirements. Thus, from customs he has taken credit for an additional Rs. 29 crores, from excise Rs. 108 crores and from income-tax Rs. 20 crores over the revised estimates of the current year. He has also taken note of the national pledge to defend our country against aggression. The Chinese threat is still very much there. Therefore, he has found an additional allocation of Rs. 29 crores for defence. Similarly, border security is very much important, as we all know, and he has provided additional Rs. 14½ crores for this purpose. In spite of this, he has avoided deficit financing. This is the only reason why he has had to bring forward additional tax proposals. This has been very much criticised from all sections of the House.

Whatever the stage of the economy any additional taxation is bound to create some irritation to those on whom it falls. But here the Finance



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Minister has shown his acumen in spreading the burden evenly on a wide scale so as to lessen the burden on any individual class of people. Not only that he has provided reliefs where necessary and possible to the best extent. I particularly appreciate the reliefs given to the lower income groups who have suffered under the pressures of the stringent conditions of the economy we are passing through.

These are the reasons why I say that the Budget is a realistic one. There has been criticism of the Budget and the economic policy from different sections of the House. It is only natural that the spokesmen of the Swatantra Party will find nothing appreciatory in this Budget. They will never be able to appreciate it. So also are the spokesmen of the Communist Party who have got a different philosophy altogether, and there will be no meeting ground between that side of the House and Government. . . .

**Shri Maurya (Aligarh):** What about your own partymen?

**Shri Liladhar Kotoki:** I am saying that this side of the House and Government will never have any common meeting ground with them on economic policy and political policy, whether they belong to the Swatantra Party or the Communist Party.

**An hon. Member:** Also the Republican Party.

**Shri Liladhar Kotoki:** There are other criticisms of a wide-ranging nature which is quite natural in connection with any Budget, particularly in the context of the very difficult situation that we are passing through. Even so, I venture to say that the endeavour the Finance Minister has made goes to show that the utmost care has been taken to correct these depressing trends as much as possible.

What else can a Finance Minister do? Having said this, I will suggest that perhaps it will be advisable if the Finance Minister makes a mid-year appraisal of the situation and bring about such remedial measures as may be warranted by such an appraisal.

The food situation is really very grave. We have had a debate on that. There have also been references made to it from time to time. Government has told the House and the country about the various short-term measures taken. I will not take the time of the House on short term measures. But, I would very earnestly suggest to Government and the Planning Commission to consider whether it would not be advisable to have a two-year agricultural programme, on a national scale, and if necessary by keeping the other sectors just going, avoiding only retardation, so that we grapple with this serious problem once for all.

This difficulty of food and also agriculture has been there ever since we became independent. The First Plan took note of it and promised that we would be self-sufficient in agriculture but we could not do it. The Second and Third Plans have not succeeded in doing so. I do not know whether the Fourth Plan, which has yet to be placed before the House, will be able to take adequate care of this very vital problem. Therefore, I would say that as we have taken one year's pause in the first year of the Fourth Plan, what is the harm if we take another two years' pause for the purpose of putting our agriculture, which is so very basic for economic development on a sound footing, and then take up the other sectors for development and expansion. This will be a very wise step, I think. So I will humbly request the Finance Minister the Planning Minister and the Planning Commission and the Government as a whole and this House also and the States to consider this matter very seriously.

Now I come to the various drawbacks in our plan. I will call them setbacks or shortcomings in our plans. First of all there is regional disparity. The successive plans said that we would remove regional disparities and disparities between community and community. The Constitution itself guarantees that we should raise the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to the level of the rest of the community within a period of ten years.

**Shri Basumatari** (Goalpara): Backward classes also.

**Shri Liladhar Kotoki**: Backward classes also. We could not do it, and therefore we had to extend it. Therefore, unless we raise the level of these communities, how can we give political equality to them? Everywhere we find that this is the basic reason for political discontent amongst various sections of our community. Therefore, I would suggest that the Fourth Plan should take up special programmes with a view to remove these disparities by the end of the fifth plan, if it is not possible by the end of the fourth plan, but unless we make a serious effort, without dissipating our energy and resources on so many things which can wait till these drawbacks are removed, how and when will we be able to remove them?

The Monopolies Commission has pointed out that the rich have become richer and the poor poorer. Then, what is the plan? Similarly, if we keep them neglected, or if we do not take adequate steps to pull them up to the level of the rest, and others are allowed to go further and further where will be the meeting ground? Therefore, I would request the Government to consider this at the time of finalising the fourth plan.

Similarly, there are areas, particularly the northeast region, which have got very many special problems. The partition of the country has created such a serious situation in the entire northeast region comprising Assam, NEFA, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura.....

**Shri Basumatari**: Lushai.

**Shri Liladhar Kotoki**: I know Lushai, that is in Assam. I have mentioned Assam. Why do you interrupt me unnecessarily?

Of this entire region, Assam is the core, and if you look at the economy of the core itself, you will find that its *per capita* income is the lowest, that its *per capita* consumption of power is the lowest compared to the average in India. I do not say there are no other areas in our country like that, there are, but the peculiar situation of this region is that it is surrounded on all sides by foreign countries and at least two of them are not too friendly, and one is definitely inimical. If we do not keep these areas strong economically and politically, how can they serve as bulwark on defence in that region? Therefore I would beg of the Government to treat this area from the strategic point of view and take such special measures as are warranted by the situation. Particularly for the hill areas special programmes have to be taken up, and unless we do that the troubles that once arose in Nagaland and are still persisting, and which have recently arisen in Mizo hills which Mr. Basumatari in his interruption mentioned, may develop further.

I know that the Government of Assam has taken up some special programmes, but they are too meagre compared to the colossal nature of the problem. Therefore, the Centre should come to the aid of the State Government in order to enable it to remove their economic handicaps. There are no communications in Mizo District. That apart, the inadequacy of communications, as we have seen in the present disturbances in Mizo District, is handicap in the mobility of our security forces. Even from that point of view, the development of communications in that region, particularly the border areas, is very vital, and I would request the Government to take up this matter

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very earnestly and with a sense of urgency.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Your time is up. There are others waiting. There is a long list.

**Shri Basumatari:** He is the only Member from Assam to speak.

**Shri Liladhar Kotoki:** I will not take much of your time. I will mention only two more things.

One is that, in the context of what I have said about the problem of agricultural production and prevention of damages by floods, erosion and drought and providing regulated irrigation facilities to the farmers, I find it very painful that the single medium irrigation project in my State, the Jamuna Irrigation Project, which was included in the Third Plan along with three other projects yet to be started has not yet been completed. The State Government cannot find the resources for the small additional amount of Rs. 1.65 crores that is necessary to complete this project. The Chief Minister who presented the budget as Finance Minister only recently has made a special appeal to the Centre. I do hope that at least this small request will be conceded.

Lastly, I want to make an appeal to the House that in Assam we have got various special problems, and the situation is very delicate at times and requires very careful handling. There are situations which cause a great deal of concern in the country, and in the House, we are conscious of it, but I will beg of the House to strengthen the hands of our Government in the State and the Chief Minister, about whose earnestness and sincerity for the welfare of the entire region, hills and plains, of all communities there, we have no doubt. We have full faith that with his leadership, we will be able to solve all these problems, with the help and assistance of the Central Government, and that will be a good

day when we solve these special problems of this vital northeastern region.

**Shri Gauri Shankar Kakkar (Fatehpur):** As a regular feature of every budget—this tendency has been growing in this country since independence—whenever a budget is brought, side by side with increase in taxes, there are soaring prices. It is an established fact that on the eve of the budget every family feels that from the next day the expenses per head in a family are bound to go up. There is competition between the growth in taxation and soaring prices. One cannot imagine what would be the last limit and where would this end, this dual competition between soaring prices and additional taxation. What is the sense of the government in giving relief to the fixed-income group people by way of dearness allowance. Is it at all in proportion to the soaring prices of their daily necessities? It will never be any relief if the relief given is very little and the prices go ahead. How can the Home Minister come forward and say that he stands out for rooting out corruption when the fixed-income-group government employees are not able to get equitable compensation in proportion to the soaring prices for their daily necessities? They are bound to indulge in corruption. I am arguing in that manner that it would not be equitable and just for the democratic set-up and for this government to say that they should fight unfair means and corruption. That could be possible only when they are equally compensated and they are paid dearness allowance in proportion to the roaring prices every year. That has not been done. The central and state budgets every year bring in new measures of taxation which actually hit the common persons, the poor and weaker sections of our country. How can the government justify the levy of duties on things which are consumed by the poorest? I oppose the measures of the Finance minister in increasing excise duties on khandsari, diesel oil, sugar, tobacco etc. which are all commodi-

ties which the poor, ordinary citizen consumes every day. This is an additional burden when they are already overburdened with taxation. The President of the Congress Working Committee announced that the last limit of taxation has come to our country and that there was no further scope for additional taxation. Still the government comes forward in spite of the mandate of the party to levy new taxes. I fail to understand how the government can justify this, that the new taxes help the development to go forward and to make the life of the common man happier. I will take the case of agriculture. The expenditure on agriculture is just 0.6 per cent and the poor agriculturist is getting deplorable every day. It is not scrutinised how the agriculturist is not able to get the primary needs of water, fertiliser and other things which are urgently required to grow more food. What about financing agriculture? I will take only one side—cooperative sector. The other day I put a question and I was told that the short-term loan through the cooperative sector was used for such and such purposes. It has been proved that short-term advances through the cooperative sector to agricultural purposes were not going to benefit agriculture at all. It is given a sort of a political colour; these short-term loans are never invested for agricultural purposes but in other purposes. I agree it is invested in political purposes and still the minister says that it is the policy not to avoid short-term loans. I fail to understand this. Why not resort to medium-term loan or long-term loan? If a medium-term loan of three years is given to an agriculturist it can serve some constructive purpose still, after so many years of experimentation they are still going on experimenting after it has been established and proved that this measure is not beneficial to the agriculturist. The Finance minister has given an exemption of Rs. 500 in individual taxation. You give relief by this hand and snatch it by the other hand. If you just see the statistics, the prices have gone beyond the control. Even

with this exemption of Rs. 500 he has to pay this year more than what he would have paid last year. That means that there is no relief at all. Is it any relief at all to a person who has to pay for his daily necessities much more than what he was paying last year? It is a meaningless relief. It will not help the low-income group or any group at all. The established policy of this government, they say, is to go ahead with mixed economy I find, I charge the co-operative sector is deplorably ignorant. It should be an instrument towards socialist pattern of economy. I have noticed and I have got data; cooperative societies had been registered for years together but still they are not getting licence for manufacturing sugar and individual persons are preferred. The policy of the government is just to help a handful of persons who are able to a mass money every day but to tax the lakhs and crores of other people I recollect the remarks of our late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who once said: I am convinced; I can say that during the last 12 years of Congress regime a handful of capitalists have been able to earn much more than what they would have got during 100 years of British regime, whereas the poor have suffered and are getting poorer. So, this is the result and the actual mirror that the budget has presented before us. Where is the relief for the poor cultivator and the poor labourer? As a matter of fact, when the budget proposals are formulated, this aspect is ignored altogether, namely, the aspect of relief to those who are in a great majority and who are living from hand to mouth and who are actually poor. I find in the budget that in this year the provision for the nation-building services has been reduced from 19 per cent to 15 per cent. It comes to the same argument. In constructive measures, such measures which go actually to give some relief to the poor, there is a reduction and a cut, and there is a gradual cut every year.

What about the expenditure on administration? It is going up and up

[Shri Gauri Shankar Kakkar]

and it is growing every year. I request the Finance Minister to look into these things; at the Centre, whatever taxation measures are brought forward, proper and adequate steps are to be employed to realise and see that every pie of the taxation measure is realised and fulfilled. The poor and the weaker sections of society suffer again. I submit that in the case of a poor tenant paying a land revenue to the tune of Rs. 5 a year, he will not have any chance to save, and if there is default in the payment of land revenue, he is put into prison; he is imprisoned and his property is auctioned. But then, in comparison to that, there are capitalists in this country who can evade payment of tax, and still, no steps are taken against them. There should be a just and equitable measure with regard to the realisation of taxation and taxes, in respect of the poorer and the richer sections alike, and there should be no political playing nor any unfair dealings in such matters. Unfortunately, however, if it comes to the question of a man who has saved sufficient money or if he is a habitual evader of taxes and does not pay the taxes, then, on certain political grounds, such people are untouched and no action is being taken against them. I need not cite any example. But I can say that this is exactly what is going on at present.

Then, I find that during the last few months, there has been so much of disorder in the country, lawlessness, bloodshed and other things. Of course, while providing money in the budget, the Government of India has to reassess the situation and it will have to make provision for some miscellaneous heads of expenditure to see that there is no actual destruction of property, government property, especially railway property, and so on. But then, is it human to resort to actual shooting in the case of, whom, your own citizens. If, after all, there is any discontent, and if you have not succeeded in fulfilling the desires of the people and thus removing the discontent—which is prevailing in certain

parts of the country, then, it is the fault of the Government which rules the country. Resorting to actual shooting of its own citizens would not be justified in that context.

It does not mean that I justify violence; I condemn it, but still the Government has to think coolly. After all, what is the mob? They are our own citizens, loyal citizens who for a time are turning disloyal and are resorting to violence. So, the basic cause for that has to be explored.

Then, I find that there is a growing tendency with the Central Government and the State Governments also in regard to budgeting, and it is this. They will show the income side first, and the proposed income in a very small scale, and on the expenditure side, they show it in an exaggerated manner. I can understand a difference of five per cent or 10 per cent, but they always show a very big figure. I would not quote it, but I can say that this is a method to show to the country that they are short of money, that there is deficiency and that it is going to be a deficit measure. But then actually, what happens? After the end of the year, when the total figures are worked out, the income is enhanced disproportionately. This tendency also has got to be checked.

In the end, I would submit that if the Central Government actually and sincerely believes in the socialistic pattern of economy, which I doubt—they say it but they never believe in it—they should take such measures in the annual budget as would give real relief to the ordinary citizens, to the poorer sections of the society, and then and then only they can claim that they are actually implementing the socialistic pattern of economy and going towards a welfare State. Otherwise, it is a meaningless thing to say one thing and to act upon differently.

Shri A. N. Vidyalankar (Hoshiarpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the occasion when we discuss the general budget is rightly the time when we review the general economic situation

and the economic policies of the Government. Rightly also, the Members of the Opposition think about many loopholes and many gaps and many defects, and by their criticism we all profit. Even the Government does not conceal where there are certain loopholes or defects. The Finance Minister himself laid on the Table of the House the economic review; that does not conceal the facts. They have been stated and nobody can doubt that there is a price-spiral, that production in the agricultural and industrial fields is low. We are too much dependent on foreign aid and foreign-imported food-grains. There are many other defects that have been pointed out, and many defects have been pointed out in the report itself. Therefore, these are not new things. But the Opposition have tried to draw their own conclusions differently. Shri Ranga has tried to draw his own conclusion, and the PSP Members and the Communist Members and other Members have drawn their own different conclusions. Those conclusions and the recipe that they want to offer us sometimes appear ridiculous. I was listening to the written oration of Shri Ranga. Shri Ranga said many things. I was then wondering how he was blaming the Government and trying to pose as if he agreed with all the policies and principles of socialist economy, but what he was advocating is private enterprise. He expressed concern about the peasants, but did not say a word why private enterprise was trying to invade the agricultural economy and establish its monopolistic principles even there.

Yesterday I was really amazed when I listened to the speech of Acharya Kripalani. I have great regard for him, for his past services and sacrifices, but unfortunately not for his wise counsel. These days he speaks with a sense of frustration. The only remedy he offered for all the evils that he enumerated was that people should revolt. Unfortunately he quoted the Father of the Nation, Gandhiji, whose disciple he professes to be, but he had not a single word to condemn the violence that we find in various

places now. He talked as if this new theory of revolt will solve all our evils and give us food, kerosene, etc. and put our economy at the proper level. If that is the amazing way in which the opposition offers its criticism, I say it is most irresponsible criticism that can lead us nowhere.

What is the purpose of discussing the budget here? It is to find out certain ways, how to proceed and solve the problems. I was amused to listen to Prof. Ranga's day-dreaming when he said he thought he could occupy the Treasury Benches. I am sorry many of the opposition leaders throw stones at the Treasury Benches and run away. They think they have only one role to play. They think that they know everything; they can teach lessons to the Treasury Benches and members on this side and they have nothing to learn. I think the greatest harm they are doing is they are trying to destroy the confidence and morale of the people, which is the mainstay of the nation. They create the impression that the government of the day is the most incapable government, most corrupt government, which cannot handle things properly. If people listen to their views, you can imagine what would be the condition of our country and how we will progress. In order to command respect and confidence, the opposition should build up some reputation for constructive criticism, which is very much lacking nowadays. They know how to criticise, but I have found them wanting in the tolerance and forbearance to listen to criticism. That is why when the criticism is offered, they are away from the House, especially their leaders.

With regard to the budget, I have myself said there are many loopholes. My impression is, sometimes we speak with different voices about policy matters. We know our policy is to achieve things through democratic socialism. But sometimes things are stated in a manner that creates misgivings and misapprehensions in the mind of the people. For instance, immediately after assuming office, the finance Minister said that he wanted freedom to move whether on the right or left or

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sideways; he wanted elasticity in the policies. I fail to understand what is meant thereby. I do not impute motives, but certain things are stated in a manner which creates misgivings as if we have no policy.

I have never understood the term 'centrist policy', the middle-of-the-road policy. We have a definite policy and approach, the socialistic approach. When we say we want to walk on the middle road, that is the only road that we have to walk on. There is no leftism or rightism in Congress policies; there is only one thing and that is democratic socialism.

**Shri Kashi Ram Gupta (Alwar):** Then, why do you have a Socialist Forum?

**Shri A. N. Vidyalkar:** You will never understand it or develop the capacity to understand it till you are sitting here.

Sometimes certain policies are advocated in the name of pragmatism—a beautiful word, but it requires that we should act boldly, in an adventurist spirit, go on experimenting. But sometimes dogmatism is defended and advocated in the name of pragmatism. I wish the difference between two is properly understood.

Recently one minister said that he believed in competition as a religion. I do not understand. I know Mr. Ranga also believes in competition. Private, Free, enterprise talks of competition. Competition as a religion means, competition between whom? I can understand healthy competition between equals. But in our economy there are monopolistic tendencies, as the Monopolies Commission report tells us. Where is the scope for equal, healthy competition? Where the disparity is growing, to talk of competition means that might is right; those who are rich should become richer and the poor should become poorer. The manner of expression of our views should not create confusion. I feel sometimes such a confusion is created.

15 hrs.

Recently in the meeting of the FICCI, they talked of radicalism. We all talk of radicalism. Radicalism is an attractive term. But they talk of radicalism in order to support a reactionary policy, that we should go back. They talk of "a thorough overhaul of the fiscal and monetary policies of the Government in order to revive the capital market and restore confidence of the investor". Yes, if you want us to restore the confidence of the investor, we also want to restore all-round confidence in the country. But what about restoring the confidence of the workers? What about restoring the confidence among the peasants? What about restoring confidence among the people in general? Why should we talk of restoring confidence only among the investors in the capital market? We want to revive confidence everywhere, not among the big investors alone. What about the small investors? There are small investors who are losing confidence at present because the big investors have practically tried to monopolise every place of vantage. They have monopolised the offices from where the licences are issued, or the offices from where credit is given, or offices from where the import licences for raw materials are given. Through their contact men the big business houses have virtually monopolised these offices. Only yesterday I was reading in the papers that some woman was employed by a firm to establish contact with an officer and when this was brought to their notice, Government rightly said that this contact should be stopped. So, now they have put restrictions on contact men.

I am talking of these free-enterprisers, those who talk of competition, those who talk of free economy. Do they really talk of free economy? It is really the black-moneyed economy which is being talked of as free economy. That is why I say that there should be some control.

There is a lot of talk about removing or eliminating these controls. I am one with those who say that there

should be less of controls. As our worthy Prime Minister has stated some days ago, all unnecessary controls should be removed. But what I find is that even those controls that are very necessary are not being properly enforced. They should be properly and strictly enforced so that in the name of free economy people are not exploited.

Similarly, comparison is often made between public sector and private sector. One of our Ministers has recently stated that in our mixed economy the public sector and the private sector are the two legs, and that our economy stands on these two legs of private sector and public sector. I do not think it is right. This is a wrong assumption, and wrong assumptions lead to wrong conclusions. Really speaking, from the very beginning the policy that we have adopted was to encourage the public sector. We have to encourage the public sector so that it can assume a decisive and dominant role. The public sector will have to play a dominant role and the private sector must submit to it. The idea that these two sectors are equal is a wrong assumption, a wrong postulate, and I think these wrong postulates sometimes lead to wrong conclusions.

These are policy matters and wish that in these policy matters our Ministers and responsible officials speak in a clear manner, in a proper manner, so that there is no misunderstanding or misapprehension in the minds of the people. If we do that, if we implement what we say, if we fully implement what we desire and what we profess, I am quite sure that the country can be led to the goal which we have set before ourselves. And I am quite sure that it is the Congress Party alone that can lead the country to that goal, not all those whose voices are different, whose ideas are confused and who say certain things just to suit the occasion. And yet that is precisely what I find in the whole discussion in the speeches of most of our opposition friends.

**Shri S. N. Chaturvedi:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Finance Minister has a very unenviable task. He has to meet and satisfy opposing demands and, as has been stated in the House, he has virtually to go tight-rope dancing. Our economy is afflicted with a number of ailments. There is food shortage, inflation, depression in the capital market and the crisis of foreign exchange. The sum total of all this is that our expenditure and our debts are rising and our production is falling. The increase in per capita income is more than offset by the rise in price. How are we going to tackle this problem?

Our planning for the past 15 years has brought the country to the present impasse. There is a science called Cybernetics according to which unless those who manage the affairs of a country are constantly guided by the feed-back reports about the effect of their policies, the economy comes to grief. The main function of the Government can be defined as control and communication to ensure effective action. Governments which are not guided by feed-back reports about the actual, as opposed to the intended, effect of the actions steer their ship of State towards the rocks. That seems to be happening in our country.

There is no dispute about planning. We have only to decide whether it is to be detailed planning or indicative planning. It is much easier to determine priorities, so far as planning is concerned, but it is rather a difficult task in a planned economy to see that the interest of the individual is identified with the interest of the community. As Douglas Jay remarks.

"A planned economy is a good thing when it makes the social action materially rewarding so that the man's own personal interest leads him to achieve it.... it becomes disastrous when it divorces social action from personal interest;... Various illegal activities follow and the police and the black market darken the land."



[Shri S. N. Chaturvedi]

If the feedback reports are acted upon, if we do not review our policy in the light of what we see actually happening in the country but go by certain dogmas, then this is the ultimate result.

Here in this House we very often hear about certain remedies which are prescribed as panacea for our present ills. Just before me two or three speakers have spoken of them. One is nationalisation. For everything that happens, one remedy that is suggested is nationalisation. From the Opposition side daily there is criticism of the administration, of the Government, of its extravagance, corruption, inefficiency and everything and thereafter they say—see the consistency—keep everything into the hands of this corrupt, inefficient machinery; keep everything in their hands and some miracle will happen; nationalisation will do the miracle and something good will come up. If the instrument through which we are implementing our policies is tainted, corrupt and inefficient, how can these people say, give every power to the State? It is because we have never thought about it; we do not apply our mind.

We say, socialism is a panacea. What is socialism? Just now a friend of mine was quoting from the Monopolies Commission's Report. The Monopolies Commission's Report has said that while there is no monopoly in this country—of course, if the first industry starts and it is considered a monopoly, then it is a monopoly but they say, concentration of power and that too is in the normal course—the concentration of power has also helped the nation to grow and they have also made their contribution.

How does nationalisation undo this concentration? The remedy for the concentration of property in too few hands is not monopolisation in the hands of the State; but, on the contrary, a policy directed to its greater dispersal and diffusion. A succession

of nationalisations gradually substitutes for the variety of employers against whom trade-unionism, not unsupported by the State, serves as a protection to the employee, the one employer from whose imperative there can be no escape.

This is how concentration of power is sought to be combated by more concentration and monopoly in the hands of the State. Gandhiji was the greatest opponent of this concentration or centralisation of power, whether it be in the hands of the individual or of the State. Most of our troubles have emanated from the fact that, whether it is political power or economic power, there is a trend towards concentration and centralisation and not towards decentralisation on which Gandhiji insisted. If there had been a decentralised economy, most of these ills would not have arisen.

What is our conception of socialism after all and how can it be achieved? Have we really applied our minds to it? There are two ways of achieving socialism. One is to abolish the private ownership of property. There is another way and that is through fiscal methods and welfare measures. If you have progressive direct taxation and centrally financed public services, it is effective; it is constructive; it is democratic; it is at once radical and revolutionary because it need not involve violent wrenches or destructive jerks in economic life, but can rechannel to almost any extent the desired incomes thrown up by natural forces. It is more effective and immediate in its redistributive power than the spread of public ownership.

And what status the ordinary citizen is reduced to in case every power, even economic power, is also concentrated in the hands of the State? This is the clear, straight road to serfdom. Our Jaya Prakash Narayan has also said that there is a danger in the country of monopolistic bureaucracy backed by leaders of the people in Par-

liament. In private enterprise this danger is partly cancelled by multiple or plural controls and competition. Another eminent writer says:—

"The socialist ideal is not satisfied by an enlightened despotism dispensing benefits through the medium of a bureaucracy. Such a regime may better the material condition of the subjects but it casts them into and confines them within the moral and political condition of mere *administrés* and it does not form citizens—men, that is to say, who know how to play their part in administration and its burdens. Still less does it form socialists—men, that is to say, who feel a continuous solicitude for their neighbours which is shown in action by an increasing devotion to their well-being. A socialist is he who knows himself to be his brother's keeper."

Our minds are very clear so far as socialism is placed as an ideal, but what is the method which we are going to pursue? Neither the Bhubaneswar Resolution nor any other resolution is clear on the point as to how we are going to achieve it. Unless we have full employment, how are we going to give to everybody housing, food and every other thing? You cannot feed a nation on doles. Unless there is full employment, there is no other alternative. You cannot say that you can feed the nation on doles and even if you do that, I think, it is not very honourable; it is not worthy of the dignity of a self-respecting nation. We must be very clear about these ideals.

I was saying that we are not reviewing our policies. Take, for example, food. We have imposed these food zones and we find that these zones have created a lot of trouble and disparities. The purpose of these food zones was that the deficit States should be well-fed. In the surplus States they have good rations, low food prices; but, I think, that is no

achievement at all. There our policy has completely failed. Why are we not going to revise it? I do not say that there should be completely free food trade, but I only say, as has been suggested, that if you keep the entire food trade—distribution, control, everything—to the State, you are certainly asking for trouble and you are inviting chaos and anarchy in this country. The best thing would be a *via media*. Let us have bigger zones to which surplus States and deficit States are attached together. If there is any deficit, it may be possible for us to meet it by the imports that we are getting. Within that bigger zone there should be free trade. That is one solution that will be effective.

Then I also do not agree with the emphasis that is being placed on fertilisers, chemical fertilisers. We are short of foreign exchange. I dare say that we have not certainly made use of the indigenous fertiliser, that is, compose manure which is much more beneficial for the soil and that is lying in heaps all over the country. We have not done anything; on paper only we are saying that we are making use of it.

One thing that is worrying us is what we are doing ourselves. The need of the hour is more production, more productivity. Any person who sets up a factory, the farmer in the field, the worker in industry, even the capitalist who organises that factory. I think, does a service to this country in this present predicament. I think, that is the thing which we desire foremost. This is the call of the time. But what are the politicians doing? Are we also making our contribution? Violence is breaking out everywhere in the land. Is this the proper atmosphere? Whatever Acharya Kripalani says or anybody else says, I can say that the disturbances that broke out in Bengal were not food riots. Hardly any grain shop was looted. Why was all the fury directed against the centres of communications, against the police outpost and all that? It was

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not a food riot; it was sabotage, possibly in preparation for the invasion of the Chinese in the coming summer. This is what is happening. I am not gladdened by the advice the Centre has given to the Government of West Bengal and made them retrace their steps. The United Leftists Front has done what it has done. I say they are cowards to castigate innocent people to go to the streets and take to violence. They are cowards. Then, they slink back and let the people die on the streets. I have no respect for those people. Let them come and face the bullets if they think they are really motivated by the good of the people. What are the politicians doing? The politician, I say, is the greatest exploiter; he is the greatest mischief-maker . . . (Interruptions). I am also a politician and we must look at ourselves. We also criticise; we criticise everyday and we preach hate from every platform. That hate, that venom, is creating violence everywhere. We must watch our own actions. We must do some sort of self-introspection.

I may quote one thing here as to what has been said about the developing countries. I will not name the country. I quote:

"Frequently, the State is compared to the organised bandits of the backlands exacting their tribute and leading a purely parasitic existence. The idea that economic development takes place in spite of, rather than because of, State action is well expressed in Brazilian saying, "Our country grows by night when the politicians sleep."

That is probably what we are seeing happening in this country.

So many people come here to watch with a sense of awe as to what is happening in this House and what

is happening in other Legislatures. Even here, in this House, certain things are happening which are below the dignity, the decorum of the House. That is cutting at the very foundations of our democracy. If these things continue democracy will not stay in this country. It is not only that our legislatures are not behaving properly all the political leaders are inciting people to violence roundabout and they are also behaving in the same manner in this House. What is worse is that the student community, the youth of the country, the coming generation, is also being impregnated with hate and violence and with no other ideals. That is what is happening in this country.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He should conclude now.

**Shri S. N. Chaturvedi:** I am concluding, Sir. I have no time and I only say, in conclusion, that I hope the suggestions which I have made will be taken note of by the Finance Minister.

**Shri V. V. Thevar\*** (Thanjavur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, at the outset I wish to convey my thanks for having given me an opportunity to express my views on the budget. . . .

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद): माननीय सदस्य अंगरेजी की जगह तमिल बोल रहे हैं पूरा संसद् इसका पूरी तरह स्वागत करता है।

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय (गुना): हम श्री डा० लोहिया की बात का समर्थन कर रहे हैं।

एक भारतीय सदस्य: तमिल का स्वागत हो रहा है . . . (व्यवधान)

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Members cannot go on speaking like this. They shout at the top of their voice. Some dignity must be observed. Yes, the hon. Member may continue his speech.

\*English translation of the speech delivered in Tamil.

**Shri V. V. Thevar:** Sir, there is no provision in the Constitution of India that only those who know English or Hindi well should become the Members of Parliament; hence certain members who know only their regional languages also get elected to this august body. If we want to take part in the deliberations here, we provide you, Sir, with an advance copy of the translation in English or Hindi of the speech even before we speak in the regional language; this procedure has not given an opportunity to other Hon. Members to understand the sum and substance of the speech. If we want to create a real and true National integration, such speeches in the regional languages should be translated in all the fourteen languages to enable Hon'ble Members to understand the views of the speaker in the regional language; besides, facilities for translation should be provided in the meetings of the Consultative and Standing Committees also.

At the time when we are confronted with the problem of increasing our food production, permission should be granted to purchase from abroad agricultural implements necessary for increasing production, such as small tractors, power sprayers, power drilling machines, machines for steam launches for fishermen, etc., by removal of the restrictions in respect of foreign exchange.

In the Thanjavur District (Madras State) about 5 lakh acres of land remain dry without adequate irrigation facilities in the C.M.P. irrigated area spread over in Thanjavur, Orathanad, Pattukkottal and Aranthangi taluks. Although irrigation facilities are available to 3 lakh acres, yet their yield is affected on account of paucity of water supply. Even in the irrigated area, since there is no water supply for a period of five months, farmers are put to hardship due to their being rendered jobless during that time. Therefore, to provide irrigational facilities for increasing food production

and to increase such food production as give a fair income within a short period, I want to suggest the following measures to be taken:—

(i) facility of research to find out the existence of the sub-soil water and exploratory tubewells should be provided.

(ii) deep tubewell sets by means of power-drilling operations should be provided to the farmers to utilise the sub-soil water and to meet the cost thereof, 25 per cent should be given as subsidy and balance amount advanced as loan to the farmer. In case the drilling operation for tube well is not met with success, then the entire cost of such drilling operations and expenditure incurred should be borne by Government.

Having made these provisions in the Crash Programme for 1966-67, this should be implemented without further loss of time. These steps will definitely increase the food production which will in turn better the standard of living of the farmer. I, therefore, say that necessary action be taken immediately in this regard.

In the Thanjavur District, under the Package Programme agriculturists are granted short-term loan of Rs. 150/- per acre up to a maximum of Rs. 1,000 per agriculturist through the Reserve Bank of India. With this amount only 6 acres of land can be manured. Agriculturists possessing over 6 acres of land are not able to manure their lands, which effects the production. limit should be raised to Rs. 2,000/-.

In agriculture, production is affected by pests to a great extent. Agriculturists are not able to protect their crops by individually spraying pesticides etc. Thus there is urgent need for the Government to take over the responsibility of protecting the crops by a thorough application of pesticides. This should be done at Govt. cost by

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using modern methods like helicopter spraying etc. With the same vigour as epidemics like small-pox, cholera etc., are fought in the rural areas. It is needless to emphasise that fighting the pests is one of the major steps towards increasing the food production in the country.

In the Madras Government, development project works are taken up under the set-up of Panchayat Unions. Those Panchayats which are not having sufficient income to pay money according to their share of contribution are not able to undertake developmental works. Developmental works are being carried on only in the Panchayats having adequate income and the rest are unable to take part in the development projects. The result is that, these poor Panchayats which are functioning under the democratic set-up are not in a position to carry out the Plan Schemes. Thus, as in the Uttar Pradesh where special grant is given to the backward areas, special grant should be afforded to the economically backward areas in the Thanjavur District in Madras State also. Further, schemes for the Plans should be framed at the lower level such as Panchayat Unions and Districts, and their implementation should be entrusted to the Government. Since the schemes are now at present framed at the top level for implementation in the villages, there is not a realistic approach made and we have not achieved the desired targets.

In Tamil Nad due to the recent severe cyclone and sea erosion, in the affected places like Rameshwaram and Aranthangi taluks, thousands of fishermen living on the coastal line have lost their houses, properties and lives. Due to the recurrence of this Cyclone and the sea erosion for the past so many years, the fishermen community is in a state of complete extinction. Although the Government are not in a position to provide them with houses in order to safeguard their properties and lives, the Government should at

least construct a Community Hall in every village with facilities of radio and telephone so that in times of danger, they would be able to protect their properties and lives by staying in these Community Halls. I request the Government to take steps in this regard.

15.30 hrs.

[SHRI SHAM LAL SARAF *in the Chair*]

It is the cherished desire of Gandhiji to develop the villages. With the development of villages, the country develops. The Life Insurance Corporation of India is granting loans from its funds against the security of the life policies and lands to the policy-holders for the purpose of constructing houses. A larger number of policy-holders are in the villages. Hence it is not an act of justice to grant loans for construction of houses in the urban areas rather than in the rural areas. The Government may advance loans for construction of houses in the urban areas. When the loans given to the Co-operative Housing Societies for building houses in villages are being substantially reduced due to paucity of funds, the L.I.C. should make loans for construction of houses in the villages. The policy-holders in the villages are also owning immovable properties and any amount of loan can be readily advanced to them. Further, justice demands that the funds collected in the villages should be used for advancing the loans for construction of houses in the villages alone. The villagers who are under the belief that they would get the insured money in the event of their deaths, will be attracted to take more policies when the extension of such a facility is made to them.

Moreover, Sir, the bonus amount paid to policy-holders works out to only 2 per cent whereas L.I.C. collects interest at the rate of 6½ per cent for the loans given to policy-holders. This disparity is not justifiable. Therefore, the rate of interest for the loans

issued by L.I.C. should be reduced to 2 per cent. In case of house building loans, issued by L.I.C., the expenses on stamp duty, legal opinion, etc. are being recovered from the policy-holders but in case of house-building loans given by co-operative societies, such expenses are not recovered from the applicants but met by society itself. Life Insurance Corporation also should adopt the same policy and meet such expenses themselves.

To perpetuate their rule in India the British created the agency of Zamindars, Inamdars, the Rajas and the hereditary village headmen in the villages who were a pin-prick for the peasants. After the dawn of independence the Zamindari and Inamdari systems have been abolished and democracy has been sought to be ushered in their place. But, unfortunately, the basis of village administration, viz. the institution of village *munsiff* and *Karnam* still continue to function. Though the predominant population in the village (as much as 70 per cent) consist of poor peasants for whose welfare the Government have undertaken many an ameliorative measure, yet the fruits of such schemes never reach them because of the interference of the autocratic village headmen and *karnams*. The higher authorities at the Government level entirely depend on the coloured reports submitted by these village officials for carrying out improvements in the villages. Further the power of levying land revenue vests in these officials who have also large discretionary powers. They use this at their whims and fancies, pride and prejudice and thus harass the poor, innocent, gullible and powerless villagers. Thus in a case where justly a revenue of Rs. 500 is to be levied, they bring it down to Rs. 50 and where actually Rs. 50 is to be levied they make it Rs. 500, simply to punish those who are not in their good books and favour those who are their henchmen. This brings not only loss to Government exchequer but also difficulties to the villagers.

To set right the above state of affairs and to bring real democracy in villages it is very essential that the institution of village *munsiff* and *karnams* should be abolished straight-away and the collection of revenue be entrusted to the Panchayat Union to fulfil the basic democracy in the village. It may be mentioned here that this system is in vogue in the States of Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. I, therefore, request that the Madras State should also be prevailed upon to hand over the collection of revenue etc. to village Panchayat Unions, dispensing at the same time with the village *munsiffs* and *karnams*.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : सभापति महोदय, लुई 14वें ... (व्यवधान) ... यह मैं जानता हूँ कि आप लोगों को अभी ताली बजाने में कुछ देर लगेगी।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, लुई 14 वें को जो फ्रांस के राजा थे मादाम द्यूवारी न फ्रांस के नाम से पुकारा करती थी। उनके अपने कमरे में काफी बनाया करती थी और कभी कभी उनसे कहती थीं जब काफी बन जाती थी—“फ्रांस ता क्योके फुल्का” फ्रांस, तेरी काफी बह रही है। कई सौ वर्ष के बाद फ्रांस के लोगों ने जब उनकी हालत बहुत गड़बड़ हुई थी उमी वाक्य को दोहराया—“लु फ्रांस ता क्योके फुल्का”, फ्रांस तेरी काफी बह रही है। आज मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, भारत, तेरी काफी बह रही है। इसलिये बह रही है कि मैं कृष्णनगर गया था तो वहाँ मैंने उन बच्चों के घर बानों में बातचीत की जो मरकारी गोली से मरे थे—प्रानन्द शहाब, विश्वास और अर्जुन घोष। एक बात की तरफ लोगों ने ध्यान नहीं दिया होगा कि तीनों पिछड़ी जातियों के थे। जो मेरी समझ में बात आयी और जिस तरह से वह मरे, निर्दोष, बिल्कुल निर्दोष, और उमी के

## [डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

साथ साथ भ्रभी मैंने खबर सुनी कि पानीपत में कुछ हड़ताल समर्थक हिन्दुओं ने कुछ हड़ताल विरोधी हिन्दुओं को जिन्दा जला दिया। यह भ्रभी भ्रभी मैंने सुना। तो यह मामला सिर्फ आरोप प्रत्यारोप तक मत रखो। सही बात है कि हमारी तरफ से लोग कहेंगे कि सरकार बड़ी गन्दी है और आप भी बतायेंगे कि हमारी सरकार बहुत ठीक है। लेकिन भ्रब मामला बहुत भ्रगे बढ़ गया, इसको भी देखना चाहिए। क्यों कि उसी कृष्णनगर में मैंने उस पुलिस दरोगा की बीबी से भी बातचीत की जिसको छोटे बच्चों ने चाहे पांच ही दस रहे हों, ईंट से कपाल कूट कूट कर के मारा था। सचमुच हमारी हासत बहुत खराब है। हम बिल्कुल भ्रनोखे देश बन गये हैं।

और ज्यादा बातें न कह कर के सबसे पहले रुपये की बात में कहता हूँ कि कितना भारत में पिछले दस बारह वर्षों में आपने अपना राष्ट्रीय ऋण बढ़ाया है। हो सकता है कि सामने वालों की तरफ से जवाब आ जाय, इसमें कोई बात नहीं, जब कोई बेटी कारखाने की तरक्की करता है तो राष्ट्रीय ऋण बढ़ ही जाता है। लेकिन यह बात सही नहीं है। राष्ट्रीय ऋण बढ़ने की ओर कई परिस्थितियाँ होती हैं। भ्रब मैं आपको 1950 से 1963 तक दुनियाँ में क्या इसमें तब्दीली हुई, वह बताता हूँ। अमेरिका में राष्ट्रीय ऋण 13 वर्ष पहले अपनी पूरी भ्रामदनी का 106 सैकड़ा था यानी उतना ही, जो कि 13 वर्ष में घटकर 64 सैकड़ा हो गया। भ्रंयेंजों का राष्ट्रीय भ्रामदनी का दुगुना राष्ट्रीय ऋण था जो घटकर के भ्र्राधा हो गया 115 सैकड़ा। सभी देशों ने अपना राष्ट्रीय ऋण घटाया है क्योंकि यह युग बेटी कारखाने की तरक्की का रहा है। खाली जर्मनी और जापान में राष्ट्रीय ऋण बहुत मामूली सा बढ़ा है क्योंकि

उस के पहले उन का राज्य ही खत्म हो चुका था इसलिए राष्ट्रीय ऋण का कोई सवाल नहीं उठता। इसलिए मैं बतलाता हूँ कि जापान में पूरी राष्ट्रीय भ्रामदनी का 2 प्रतिशत है और जर्मनी में यानी पश्चिमी जर्मनी में करीब साढ़े 10 सैकड़ा है। इसके बरखिलाफ भारत का राष्ट्रीय ऋण 63 में इस हिसाब से राष्ट्रीय भ्रामदनी का 50 सैकड़ा हो चुका था। इस बार बढ़ करके करीब 60 प्रतिशत हो चुका है। एक दीवालिया देश एक भ्रिखमंगा देश इस तेजी से अपना राष्ट्रीय ऋण बढ़ाता चला जाय तो उस का मतलब सिर्फ यह होता है कि हमारी मौजूदा पीढ़ी इतनी नालायक हो गई है कि अपने किये कुकर्मों को भ्रगली पीढ़ी के ऊपर लाद देना चाहती है। यह बिल्कुल साफ बात हो गई है कि यह एक दीवालिया और भ्रिखमंगा देश है।

मैं आप से सब से पहले कहना चाहूँगा कि जो रुपया सेना के ऊपर खर्च किया जा रहा है उस की तरफ आप थोड़ा सा गौर करिये कि सेना का कहां कहां प्रयोग होता है? इस वक्त मैं परदेशियों के खिलाफ वाली बात नहीं कहता हूँ। इस वक्त मैं स्वदेश की जनता के खिलाफ जिस तरीके से इस का प्रयोग होता चला जा रहा है उस के लिए मुझे एक बात कहनी है कि जब सेना का बढ़ता हुआ प्रयोग स्वदेशी जनता के खिलाफ होने लगता है तो वह सेना परदेशी सेना के खिलाफ उस हिसाब से कमजोर होने लग जाती है। इसलिए सेना के प्रयोग के बारे में बिल्कुल सिद्धान्त की बात बन जानी चाहिए कि उस का इस्तेमाल स्वदेश की जनता के खिलाफ नहीं होगा। कोई खास बहुत बढ़ा हल्ला हो जाय, सरकार के खिलाफ कोई हथियारों का विद्रोह या इन-किलाव हो जाय तो वहां सेना का इस्तेमाल किया जा सकता है। लेकिन जहां कोई ऐसी सशस्त्र क्रान्ति न हो वहां सेना का इस्तेमाल नहीं होगा।

सेना कितना ज्यादा गणतंत्र के खिलाफ काम करती है यह इसी से प्राप्त समझ लीजिये कि जहां सेना की छावनियां हैं वहां की जनता को स्वायत्त शासन नहीं मिला हुआ है। ब्रिगेडियर वहां का जन्मजात समापति हुआ करता है। जो छावनी बोर्ड होता है उसके आधे मेम्बर्स नामिनेटेड या नामजद होते हैं और आधे चुने होते हैं। इन में यहां तक हकतें होती हैं कि ब्रिगेडियर साहब अपनी मस्ती में बोर्ड के सदस्यों को थपड़ तक मार दिया करते हैं। मैं दो वर्ष से कोशिश कर रहा हूँ कि हैदराबाद में अंजय्या साहब के मामले को लेकर कुछ नतीजा निकले लेकिन नहीं निकल पा रहा है। अब जहां ऐसी हालत हो वहां बहुत गौर से और गम्भीरता से नीचे जाकर विचार करना चाहिए।

मैं सचमुच कुछ हिला हूँ। उस बात को सुन कर कि 12, 13 और 14 वर्ष के बच्चे ईंटों से किसी आदमी की जान लें चाहे वह आदमी पुलिस का दरोगा हो या और कोई हो। आखिर मामला बहुत दूर बढ़ गया है। जबकि ऐसी हालत हो रही है। यह आनन्द हाइप कौन थे। उन के बारे में भी मैं इस सभा के जरिए पूरे देश को बताना चाहता हूँ कि वह विद्यार्थी नहीं था, साल भर पहले स्कूल छोड़ चुका था, उसका बाप मर चुका था। वह सुनार जाति का था, सुनारी का धंधा करने वाला, भाई वगैरह सुनारी का धंधा करते रहे, इस से यह भी पता चलिया कि सुनारों के सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ सरकार ने किया है उस का नतीजा कहां जाकर निकल सकता है? पढ़ाई लिखाई वह छोड़ चुका था। एक भाई सेना में नौकरी करता है। वह वहां मारा गया और जहां मारा गया मुझ को वह जगह दिखाई गई। वह जलूस का हिस्सा नहीं था वह सड़क पर जा रहा था। उस को गोली कम गई फिर वह अपना पेट पकड़ता हुआ जाकर एक दुकानदार के यहां गिर गया। लोगों ने कोशिश की पानी वगैरह बालने की लेकिन उस का दम टूट चुका था। मुझे उस की मां

मिली। बाकी वह बड़ी बहादुर मां है। उस ने अपने सहज ढंग से सिर्फ इतना ही कहा कि मेरा सब से छोटा बेटा था और कुछ नहीं कहा। मैं उस की बड़ी कद्र करता हूँ। मैं उसे गुस्सा नहीं करूंगा। उसे गुस्सा नहीं था। एक दूसरे मरे बच्चे के बाप ने जो कहा वह समझने की बात है। उस ने मुझ से कहा कि मुझ को प्रतिशोध चाहिए। मैं तो खैर चुप रहा। मैं उस को प्रतिशोध नहीं दिला सकता हूँ। लेकिन इतना जरूर आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरीके से आज जनता के नाम पर, मैं नहीं कहता कि जनता की तरफ से जनता के कुछ हिस्सों द्वारा कार्रवाहियां हो रही हैं, उस के बारे में विरोधी दलों को सोच विचार करना चाहिए। किसी आदमी को मार डालना चाहे वह सरकारी नौकर हो या नागरिक हो, किसी बस या ट्राम को जता देना, किसी जोर को जता देना, मुझे इस में कोई विशेष दुःख नहीं दिखाई पड़ता न इनसे कोई नतीजा दिखाई पड़ता है। लेकिन इस के बारे में मैं सोचना चाहता हूँ कि यह अच्छी चीज है या यह बुरी चीज है? अगर बुरी चीज है तब सभी राजनीतिक दलों को और जो क्रान्तिकारी हैं उन को भी मेहनत कर के सोच लेना चाहिए और सोच करके अपने सदस्यों और स्वयं सेवकों के जरिए ऐसी कार्यवाहियों को रोकना चाहिए। लेकिन अगर यह अच्छी चीज समझी जाती है, अभी मैं अपना फैसला करने को तैयार नहीं हूँ और यह बताने को तैयार नहीं हूँ कि मैंने क्या सोचा है, बाकी मैं चाहूंगा कि इस को अच्छे तरीके से सोचें और गौर करें और अगर इस नतीजे पर पहुंचते हैं कि अब इस सरकार को और तरीके से हटाना ना मुमकिन है तब बजाय इसके कि जीवें जलाई जाय या किन्हीं इन्के, दुर्कें आदमियों को जानें ली जाय, कोशिश करनी चाहिए चाहे इस के लिए साल लगे या बार साल लगे, कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि आकाशवाणी, सचिवालय और अस्त्रागारों के ऊपर कब्जा किया जाय जिससे कि यह सरकार बदले। काफ़ी सोच विचार



[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

करके हम अपनी जगह इस बारे में कोई निश्चय करें . . . . . (व्यवधान)

**Shri K. C. Sharma:** I beg to submit that it is not permissible to preach violence. He is entitled to speak under the terms of the Constitution; he cannot destroy the Constitution and the fabric of democracy here.

**Mr. Chairman:** He can express his opinion.

**Shrimati Renuka Ray (Malda):** He has taken an oath to the Constitution. So, he must abide by the Constitution.

श्री ब० रा० भगत : यह राय हुई ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अब यह बिल्कुल तय बात हो गयी है कि पिछले 17-18 वर्ष से भारत ने अहिंसा वा सिद्धांत बिल्कुल छोड़ दिया । मुझ जैसा आदमी जोकि अहिंसा में बचपन से पला है आज मजबूर हो रहा है काने के लिए और मेरा दिमाग भी हलचल में पड़ गया है कि जब यह अहिंसा वाला सिद्धांत चल नहीं पा रहा है तो कुछ करना चाहिए कुछ सोचना चाहिए या तो इस अहिंसा में कुछ नया पुस्तान्त लाना चाहिए . . . . .

सभापति महोदय : इस वक्त हिंसा का प्रचार करना ठीक नहीं है ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : आप जरा गौर कर के देखिये मैं हिंसा का प्रचार नहीं कर रहा हूँ । मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि अगर यह बीच बुरी है तो यह जितने हैं, यह कम्युनिस्ट हैं, सोशलिस्ट हैं, जनसंघी है या रिपब्लिकन पार्टी के लोग हैं, मैं खुद संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी में हूँ, मैं सभी लोगों से कह रहा हूँ कि सोच विचार करके अपने आदमियों को सड़क पर लगाइये और उन लोगों को रोकिये जोकि जीपें जसाते है या जान लेते है, मैं यह भी तो कह रहा हूँ । लेकिन अगर यह समझा जाता है कि इस सरकार को पलटने का और कोई

रास्ता नहीं रह गया है तो यह सब काम मत करो, छूटपुट हिंसा मत करो और उसके लिए कोशिश करो भले ही उसमें साल या चार साल लग जायं, कोशिश करो कि आकाशवाणी सचिवालय और शाखागार पर कब्जा किया जाय । इस के लिए दो, चार और छ वर्ष मेहनत करोगे तभी काम चलेगा । अब यह हिंसा का प्रचार नहीं है आप मेहरवानी करके अगर गौर से सोचेंगे तो आप इसमें मुझ से सहमत हो जायेंगे (व्यवधान) ।

अब माल के बदले जान लेने का सिद्धांत जो इस सरकार ने चलाया है उस का कितना खतरनाक नतीजा हुआ है ? माल के बदले में जान, इस बारे में एक बार एक लेखिका इंदुमती केलकर ने बहुत मेहनत करके यह किताब तैयार की 'कांग्रेसी शासन में गोलीकांड' उस में अलग अलग जगहों जहां गोली चली और जिन जिन सूबों में चली उस का जिक्र है लेकिन यह किताब पांच वर्ष पहले की तैयार की हुई है . . . . .

सभापति महोदय : डा० साहब, मैं आप से अर्ज करूँ कि ज्यादा अच्छा रहता अगर आप अपना भाषण बजट पर करते, बीच में अगर कुछ कहना मुनासिब होता तो कह देते ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : सभापति महोदय, अगर आप ही इस तरह से मुझे टोकेंगे तो उनको टोकने का मौका मिल जायेगा ।

अब यह पांच वर्ष पहले तैयार की हुई किताब है । 1020 गोलीकांडों का अध्ययन किया है । उस में 840 मरे और 3100 घायल हुए लेकिन यह पांच वर्ष पहले की है इस में खरसवान का हत्याकांड नहीं जोड़ा गया जिसमें कि मरे हुएों की संख्या 500 से हजार है । अगर पांच वर्ष में कई हजार गोली से और मरे होंगे । मैं समझता हूँ कि अब तक

कांग्रेसी शासन में करीब 3000, 4000 धादमी सिर्फ गोलियों के चलने से मरे होंगे जोकि किसी स्वतंत्र देश में कभी नहीं हुआ। आखिर इस पैसे को हथ कसे दे सकेंगे ? कुछ सोचना चाहिए। अब इस पैसे से ही तो गोलियां चलती हैं बिना पैसे के गोलियां थोड़े ही चलती हैं। इसलिए अब यह सवाल उठता है कि क्या इन गोलियों के सम्बन्ध में कोई और तरीका धरनाया जा सकता है। इसके साथ साथ मैं यह भी कह रहा हूँ कि जनता को भी अपने रुपये पर सोच-विचार करना पड़ेगा। जब मैं जनता की बात कहता हूँ तो मेरा मतलब राजनैतिक दलों से है। उनके नेताओं को मैदान में घाना पड़ेगा।

पहला सिद्धांत यह आ जाता है कि अगर हमारे यहां गणराज्य है तो क्या इस गणराज्य के द्वारा हम सरकार के परिवर्तन के लिए कोशिश करते रहें या कोई दूसरा उपाय भी करे। मुझे आप से यह अर्थ करना है कि इस गणराज्य को पवित्र बनाया जाये इस को शुद्ध किया जाये क्योंकि इस में बहुत ज्यादा गन्दगी आ गई है। अगर एक तरफ से गोली चलाई जायेगी और दूसरी तरफ से दस बारह साल के बच्चे ईट से कपाल फोड़ कर लोगों को मारेंगे तो दुर्गति होगी। यह क्यों हो रहा है ? इसलिए कि पिछले अठारह वर्षों में देशी और परदेशी दोनों प्रकार का चन्दा राजनैतिक पार्टियों को मिलता रहा है ताकि वह जनता की इच्छा को बिगाड़ सकें।

मुझे यह बताने की जरूरत नहीं है कि सरकारी पार्टी को ऊपर से केन्द्र की तरफ से हर एक आम चुनावों में दस करोड़ रुपये से ज्यादा मिला करता है। नीचे की इकाइयों को छोड़ दीजिये। इतना ज्यादा पैसा मिलता है और वह पैसा राज्य की मार्फत मिलता है क्योंकि आप जानते हैं कि न जाने कितने ठेके धनुमति और व्यापार के प्रमाणपत्र हैं। होता यह है कि एक हाथ से ठेका या धनुमति हो और दूसरे हाथ से चन्दा से तो और इस

तरह से जनता के मत को प्रतिबिम्बित न होने दो।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि परदेशी पैसे के बारे में जांच होनी चाहिए। इस के बारे में जनता की राय कैसे आ पायेगी, जब तक लोक सभा इस सवाल पर अपनी कार्यवाही नहीं करेगी ?

इसी के साथ साथ मैं एक दूसरी बात पर आपका ध्यान ले जाना चाहता हूँ और वह है बहस। बहस होती है नीतियों पर। लेकिन अगर नीतियां ही न रहें तो बहस कहाँ होगी जनता क्या जान पायेगी ?

इस समय देश में जो धादमाँ रखा जा रहा है वह एकमत का नहीं है। मैं मानता हूँ कि एकमत या तो धातक के जरिये पैदा होता है और या जब कभी बहुत खबदस्त जोश हो जैसा कि कांग्रेसों से लड़ते वक्त करीब-करीब एकमत आ गया था। एक दल में भी एकमत बहुत कम आया करता है। अगर एकमत नहीं हुआ तो बहुमत हो जाया करे। मान लीजिए मेरा दल है या कांग्रेस पार्टी है। यदि कोई विषय आए तो उस पर दोनों पक्ष सोच-विचार करे। जिस का पक्ष मजबूत हो वह जीत जाये उस का बहुमत हो जाये और वह अपने तरीके से नीति को चलाए।

लेकिन यहां पर एकमत खत्म, बहुमत खत्म, अब तो पंचरंगी मत का जमाना आ गया, जिस को कांग्रेसों में कमसेन्स कहते हैं। इस को भी जोड़ो उम को भी जोड़ो सब को मिला कर किसी तरह से कोई नीति पैदा कर लो जिस पर चलते रहें। इस का नतीजा क्या होता है ? यह कि जो दुनिया भर के एहमक होते हैं वही नेता बन जाते हैं। उन्हीं के जरिये सरकार चलती है।

श्री बाल्मीकी (खुर्जा) : जनाव डाक्टर साहब। आखिर आप ने एसी एहमकाना हरकत क्यों की ?

डा० राध मनोहर लोहिया : यह कहल बजट पर हो रही है या मूझ पर ? अगर बी-

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

कहूँ कि तुम्हारी नाक कटी हुई है और मुझे जवाब दिया जाये कि तुम्हारी भी नाक कटी हुई है तो यह ठीक नहीं है क्योंकि बात तुम्हारी कटी हुई नाक की हो रही है, मेरी नाक की नहीं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : दोनों की कटी हुई है।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अगर दोनों की नाक कटी हुई है, तो हम दोनों बाहर चले जायें। देश के साथ मजाक क्यों कर रहे हैं? (व्यवधान)

पिछले अठारह बरस में जिस तरह से पंच रंगी मत को लाने में इस सरकारी पार्टी ने मदद की है, उसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि कोई नीति नहीं रही है।

श्री श्रीरथ : सभापति महोदय, जितने भी सदस्य बीच में चिल्ला रहे हैं, वे सब रिजर्व सीट पर चुने गए शिड्यूलड कास्टस के सदस्य हैं। क्या वे इसी काम के लिए यहां आते हैं? अपने लोगों के अधिकारों के लिए तो वे लड़ते नहीं हैं।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : यह बात इसी सत्र में बिल्कुल साफ सामने आ गई जब कि भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री, श्री नेहरू की किताबों को छापने का सवाल आया। यह तो पैसे का सवाल है और पैसा बजट में से ही निकलता है। यह कहा गया कि 57 लाख रुपये खर्च करके भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री की किताबें छपी जायेंगी। मैंने यह सवाल पूछा कि रायल्टी का क्या होगा। जवाब मिला कि हस्वे-भामूल-जिस तरह से ग्राम तौर पर रायल्टी का सवाल तय होता है, उसी तरह से यहां भी किया जायेगा।

ग्राम तौर पर क्या होता है? दस, अठारह या बीस सैकड़ लेखक के वारिस को

मिल जाया करता है। सरकारी खर्च से भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री की जो किताबें छपेंगी, उनकी रायल्टी के रूप में उनके वारिस को छः लाख या नौ लाख या बारह लाख रुपये मिलेंगे। काहे के लिये मिलेंगे? जो कोई भी उनका वारिस हो, उस को छः लाख रुपये मुफ्त में क्यों मिलेंगे? गालिबन वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री ही उनके वारिस होंगे। क्यों मिलेंगे उनको ये रुपये? भूतपूर्व मंत्री की आधी से ज्यादा किताबें तो उन भाषणों या लेखों की होंगी, जो उन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री की हस्तियत से या सरकारी नौकरी करते हुए दिये या लिखे। इस प्रकार की पुस्तकों पर वारिस को पैसा मिले, दुनिया में मैंने कहीं भी यह नहीं देखा। लेकिन यह पैसा मिलेगा। पिछले अठारह बरस से इस देश में क्या चल रहा है? जिस तरह से यहां पर लूट चल रही है, उससे मानुस होता है कि आदर्श यह है कि "रुपया नाम की लूट है, लूट सके तो लूट।" लूट चले जाओ। कैसे यह देश बन पायेगा?

इस लूट का मैं आपको एक और नमूना बताता हूँ। आपने सुना होगा कि जमीन के दाम को लेकर कितनी लूट चल रही है। मान लें कि किसान से जो जमीन बारह आने, एक रुपया या डेढ़ रुपया गज के हिसाब से ली जाती है, छः सात बरस में उसके दाम पचास, साठ, सत्तर और 150 रुपये तक हो जाते हैं। यह देखकर तबीयत बौखला उठती है। कुछ माननीय सदस्य चिल्लाते हैं, लेकिन कभी कभी उनकी तबीयत भी बौखला उठती होगी कि किसी को पायें, तो उस की गर्दन मरोड़ दें। मेरे मन में यह बात नहीं आती है, क्योंकि मुझ पर गांधी जी का असर ज्यादा पड़ गया है। लेकिन मन में भासा है कि इस सरकार को दबोच कर बाहर करें, खत्म करें।

इस लूट का एक नमूना देखिए। राउर-केला, दुर्गापुर, भिछाई, भोपाल, विशाखा-पत्तनम और हरिद्वार, ये वे इलाके हैं, जहाँ पर सरकारी कारखाने के खुलने से बैंक के रुपये की जमा में बढ़ती हुई है। मैं आपको प्रलग-प्रलग बता सकता हूँ। राउरकेला में 1962 में एक करोड़ सैंतीस लाख रुपये जमा हुए और 1964 में वे बढ़ कर नौ करोड़ तीस लाख रुपये हो गए। इसी तरह भिलाई में 1962 में सतासी लाख रुपये जमा हुए, जो कि 1964 में, सिर्फ दो बरस में, बढ़कर ग्यारह करोड़ सोलह लाख रुपये हो गए। इस रफ्तार से वहाँ पर बैंकों में रुपये जमा हुए हैं, इसका कारण यह है कि इन कारखानों के जो नौकर लोग, मजदूर, अफसर वगैरह हैं, उनको तनख्वाहें मिलती हैं और वे बैंकों में रुपया जमा करते हैं। और ये जो बैंकों के मालिक करोड़पति हैं, इन पट्टों को मुफ्त में काम मिल जाता है। इनके जमा यानी डिपॉजिट बढ़ते जाते हैं, जिनसे ये खूब मुनाफा कमाते हैं, जिस तरह से जमीन पर व्यापारी सांग या सट्टाखोर लोग या सरकारी लोग नफा कमाते हैं, क्योंकि कई जगह ये सुधार न्यास इ प्रूवमेंट ट्रस्ट भी बहुत पैसा कमाते हैं।

मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि शोक सभा में पचास साठ चीजें दे चुका हूँ लेकिन किसी का बचाव नहीं मिलता है। मुझे कई फा हैरत होती है कि आखिर क्यों मैं यह काम करता हूँ और लोग क्यों मुझे बेटे हैं बेमतलब।

**सभापति महोदय :** माननीय सदस्य ठोस बातें कहें। उनका समय गुजरता जा रहा है।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** यह एक घांती है, जो कि आदिवासी इलाकों में बहुत विकती है। इसपर प्राई छपा हुआ है जिस का मतलब है कि माल में थोड़ा सा नुकस रह गया है। इस कारण से इसके दाम सवा छः सैंकड़ा कम होना चाहिए। लेकिन इस घांती पर दाम बढ़िया घांती के लिये हुए

हैं—6 रुपये 79 पैसे। इसका मतलब यह है कि इस मिल वाले ने दिन-दहाड़े, खुल्लम-खुल्ला, कानूनी ढंग पर छः सात पैसे की लूट की है एक घांती पर। इसके प्रलावा मैं यह भी बता दूँ कि जरा सा पानी में बुल जाने के बाद यह भिल्ली हो जाती है। आदिवासियों के लिए है न। मैं एक दूसरा नमूना देता हूँ। मैं प्रार्थना करूँगा कि जैसे सदन पटल पर कागज रखे जाते हैं, वैसे इनको भी रखने दीजिए और सरकार से कुछ कार्यवाही करवाइये।

**Mr. Chairman:** Let him leave it there.

**श्री मधु लिषये (मुंगेर) :** आप की इजाजत से मैं इसको सदन पटल पर रखता हूँ।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** यह सदन के पटल पर रख दी गई है, इसपर कुछ कार्यवाही आप करवाइयेगा।

इनके प्रलावा कई और चीजें हैं जो कंट्रोल में आते हैं, लेकिन उसके साथ जैसी चीज को प्रनियन्त्रित करते हैं और उसमें से लोग नफा करते रहते हैं।

यह बहुत अच्छा होगा अगर वित्त मंत्री से मैं यह पूछ सकूँ कि जो मिल-मालिक या कपड़े के बड़े-बड़े व्यापारी हैं, प्राय-कर देने वाले लोग हैं, उनमें से कितने नाबालिग हैं। अगर इतना पता लग जाय कि एक वर्ष दो वर्ष और 6 महीने के कितने लोग हैं जो प्राय-कर देते हैं तो बहुत अच्छा है। इससे रोचक किस्सा आपकी मालूम हो जायेगा और नफे की कैसे लुटाई होती है यह मालूम हो जायेगा।

बाहे प्रधान मंत्री, बाहे मंत्री, बाहे सरकारी लोग, बाहे व्यापारी सांग हों, 18 वर्ष से यह लूट चली आ रही है। यहाँ नई प्रधान मंत्री आई, अगर मेरी सलाह मानती, तो मैं इनसे कहता कि झाड़ लेकर पूरे 18 वर्ष के इस कूड़े का साफ करो और कहो कि अब हम नये ढंग से चलने वाले हैं। लेकिन जब तक आप ऐसा नहीं करते तो मैं यहाँ कह सकता हूँ कि अब जो भी कोई प्रधान मंत्री

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

इस पंचरंगी मत की नीति पर धारणा, वह पहले वालों से भी ज्यादा खराब होगा।

सभापति महोदय : ये धीतियां जो आपने भेजी हैं, इनको एकत्रामित करके, आपको वापस किया जायेगा।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : बहुत धन्य। आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

उसी तरह से आप अब यह संकट कानून के बारे में एक चीज याद रखिये। कृष्ण नगर में ता० 4 को साढ़े दस बजे से करीब ग्यारह-साढ़े ग्यारह बजे तक आनन्द हाइव लड़का मरा, उसके ताब-माथ 10-12-15 वर्ष के बच्चों को शर्टें धाई, एक बच्चे को मैंने खुद देखा, 15 वर्ष का था, उसके पैर में ऐसी खबरदस्त गोली लगी, उसको डाक्टर लोग कहते हैं . . . . . अंग्रेजी का शब्द है, भूल गया हूँ, कम्पाउंडेड फ्रेक्चर नहीं, उससे ज्यादा बड़ा फ्रेक्चर है, कोई और शब्द उसको कहते हैं। फिर उसके बाद जो इमारतें जली हैं, वह कोई 12-1 बजे जली हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि उससे उनका कोई प्रीचित्य हो जायगा।

सभापति महोदय : अब तीन मिनट में खत्म कीजिये। आपके समय हो गया है।

बी भागड़ी : चलने दीजिये।

बी भागवत या आजाब (भागलपुर) : चलने दीजिये।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : तो मैं आपसे एक बात प्रार्थना कर दूँ कि यह काम बहुत गम्भीर था, फिर भी बाब में हुआ। मैं इससे उसका प्रीचित्य नहीं बताना चाहता हूँ, कोई भी चीज उचित नहीं है, मैं खाली एक चीज आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। अब वहाँ पर गृह मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री ने लोह-बचा या राज्य बचा में भारत सुरक्षा

कानून और संकट कानून को हटाने की बात कहनी शुरू की तो जगह जगह प्रदेशों में नौकरशाही और प्रदेशों के मंत्रियों में खलबली मच गई। उनकी आदत पड़ गई थी इस कानून के इस्तेमाल करने की और इसलिये उन्होंने चाहा, चाहे अनमने बंग से, या अपने मन से, कि भाई ऐसी गड़बड़ बढ़ा दो, जिससे यह कानून हट ही न सके। मैं एक तर्क आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ कृष्ण नगर के अनुभव के बाद।

उसी तरह से मैं एक और तर्क आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ। 10 ता० के पहले भारत के प्रधान मंत्री कलकत्ता गये थे। वहाँ कुछ बातचीत नहीं हुई और अब नन्दा जी गये तो सब बातें हो गईं। हालत पहले से ज्यादा खराब थी। अगर ये बदमाश लोग थे तो ता० 13 को तो और ज्यादा बदमाश थे, फिर क्या चीज थी? 10 ता० को घमण्ड था कि शायद मामला दब जायगा, लेकिन ता० 13 को समझ गये कि मामला दबने वाला नहीं है, इसलिये बातचीत करना जरूरी है।

इसलिये इन सब चीजों को सोच समझ कर आप सख्त दिल से इस संकट कानून और भारत सुरक्षा कानून को हटवायें। वैसे छोटे लोगों के लिये, भारत के तीस करोड़ आदिमियों के लिये सारी जिनदगी, हमेशा पिछले 150 वर्षों में जब से अंग्रेजी रही है, तब से संकट कानून रहा है, भारत सुरक्षा कानून रहा है, क्योंकि दफा 109 गरीबों के लिये, और अमीरों के लिये भारत सुरक्षा नियम की दफा 109। दोनों बिल्कुल परिवर्तन किये जा सकते हैं एक दूसरे के साथ। आज गरीब आदमी को चाहे जहाँ पकड़ सकते हैं, कह सकते हैं कि इसके पास छड़ी थी, दियासलाई थी, मोमबत्ती थी। आज जो पचास लाख के करीब गिरहकट, थोर, डाकू हैं, इनके प्राप्ति सरकार दफा 109 की मारफत बनाया करती है।

मैं चाहूंगा कि मैं आपका एक सबूत आपके सामने रखूँ कि किस तरह पुलिस काकायदा कोटा मांगा करती है कि फलों फलों बाने के घन्टरे इतने प्रायमी पकड़ कर खरकर देना, आपकी इजाजत से मैं इसे आपके सामने रख देता हूँ कि कानून की बिसाई . . . . .

Mr. Chairman: It will be examined\*.

Shri M. R. Krishna (Peddapalli): It should be read, we do not know what it is.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : इस में समय लगेगा ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : इसे पूरा पढ़ दीजिये ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : पुलिस कोटा मांगा करती है कि फलाने बाने से चार लाना, फलाने बाने से छः लाना । यह पुलिस सुप्रीन्टेंडेंट या डिप्टी सुप्रीन्टेंडेंट की तरफ से है, ऐसा कुछ है ।

सभापति महोदय : दो मिनट में समाप्त कीजिये ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अभी आपने एक ही मिनट पहले बंदी बजाई थी । मुझे ज्यादा नहीं 6-7 मिनट दे दीजिये, मैं सब बातें कह दूंगा ।

Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana): Dr. Lohia is a very distinguished Member of this House.

सभापति महोदय : मैं आप को तीन मिनट देता हूँ । मैं आप को बता दूँ कि अभी बहुत सारे बोलने वाले हैं, बसत बहुत कम है, हर पार्टी को समय मिलना चाहिये, आप को ब्यादा मिल रहा है, तीन मिनट में खरम कीजिये ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अगर आप समझते हैं कि मैं कुछ ऐसी बातें कह रहा हूँ, जो और कोई नहीं कहेंगे, तो बोलने दीजिये, नहीं तो मुझे कौन सा शौक है ।

सभापति महोदय : सब के साथ बोल सकते हैं, बोलिये, लेकिन अपने बसत में बोलिये ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अब कानून की बिसाई अपने देश में इतनी जबरदस्त होती चली जा रही है कि मैं कुछ कह नहीं सकता । इसी बंगाल वाले मामले में 6-7 महीने पहले के भारत सुरक्षा कंदियों को छोड़ दिया गया । क्योंकि उनको छोड़ने का राजनीय धार प्रच्छा पड़ सकता है । लेकिन वहाँ मुजफ्फर अहमद जैसे कंदी हैं, जो पिछले 17 महीनों से जेल में बन्द हैं, उनको नहीं छोड़ा गया । मैं यहां खाली न्याय-अन्याय की बात कह रहा हूँ, मैं यह नहीं कहता कि कौन प्रादमी कौसा है लेकिन पहले वाले को नहीं छोड़ा गया । मैं अभी उन से मिल कर आया हूँ । दिनेश दास गुप्ता और अर्बेन्दु बोस, ये हावड़ा की महतर हड़ताल के पकड़े हुए लोग हैं, महतर हड़ताल टूट गई है, शायद इनको छोड़ दिया जाय, लेकिन भारत सुरक्षा कानून का ट्रेड नियम और मजदूर संघ पर धमल चलता रहता है । धारा 109 गरीब के लिये भी है और अनरदार प्रादमी के लिये भारत सुरक्षा नियम भी है, दोनों के लिये है, जब तक इस को प्राय खरम नहीं कर देते, तब तक पुलिस और सरकार के हाथ में ऐसा जोर रहेगा, हर मनुष्य के लिये प्राय जानते हैं, गिरना प्रासान होता है, गिरना बड़ा प्रासान है, मनुष्य गिरता चला जायेगा, इसको इस्तेमाल करता रहेगा ।

मैं आप को फर्रुखाबाद जिले की बटना बतलाता हूँ, किस तरह से एक बाने में मुनीश्वर सिंह और खुमान सिंह नाम के प्रादमियों को पकड़ा गया । यह कहा गया कि वे चोरी करवाते रहे हैं, वे भारपीट करवा रहे हैं और

\*The Speaker not having subsequently accorded the necessary permission, the paper/document was not treated as laid on the Table.

! [डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

बाद में प्रदासत ने फंसला दिया कि यहां पेशेवर गवाह लाकर जुर्म को साबित करने की कोशिश की गई, इन को बरी किया जाता है। दिन-रात ऐसे मुकदमे चलते रहते हैं।

अब मैं लोक सभा के बारे में कुछ बात कहना चाहता हूँ। क्योंकि लोक सभा में जो होता है, उसका ज्यादा असर पड़ता है और लोक सभा अगर अपना काम नहीं कर पाती तो क्या नतीजा होता है। सब से पहले मैं हिन्दी को लेकर या देसी भाषा को लेकर कहता हूँ। मेरे लिये हिन्दी, तमिल, बंगला, सब एक हैं, कोई फर्क नहीं है लेकिन चूंकि हिन्दी का मामला उठा है, इस लिये कहता हूँ। रमेश भट्टाचार्य चाहते थे कि सिना के अंदर संकट-कमिशन मिल जाय, उनकी परीक्षा हुई, और उनको सब चीजों में ठीक पाया गया। लेकिन अंग्रेजी के सबब से नहीं लिया गया। उसका सवाल मैंने पूछा था 22 नवम्बर, 1965 को। तब रक्षा मंत्री जी ने जवाब दिया था :

“एमरजेंसी कमिशन कोवल सेना में ही प्रदान की जाती है। अयन लिखित परीक्षा द्वारा नहीं, बल्कि समालाप द्वारा किया गया था।”

उनका कहना यह था कि कमिशन लिखित परीक्षा द्वारा प्रदान नहीं की जाती है। इसे आप देखें। मेरे पास रमेश भट्टाचार्य ने चिट्ठी भेज कर मामला रखा है। यह भी मैं कोई दो-ढाई साल से उठा रहा हूँ। मुझे उन्होंने लिखा है कि हम फतेहगढ़ छावनी किला में पहुंचें तब उस दिन 14-2-63 को और भी लोग उपस्थित हुए थे और सब को ही प्रथम अंग्रेजी में लिखित परीक्षा लेने के बाद ही ट्रिब्यूनल के सम्मुख बुलवाया गया था। रक्षा मंत्री साहब कहते हैं कि लिखित परीक्षा होती नहीं है लेकिन यह मेरे पास कहते हैं कि लिखित परीक्षा हमारी होती है। कितने ही

बिल्कुल योग्य लोगों को अंग्रेजी की कम जान-कारी के कारण भारतीय सेना में नहीं लिया गया है और ये एक दो के मामले नहीं है बल्कि 57,612 आदमी जिन्होंने पास कर लिया था उन में से बारह हजार सिर्फ लिये गये और बाकी छोड़ दिये गये।

उसी तरह से लोक सभा का जिस तरह से नाजायज इस्तेमाल होता है उसकी तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। एक सवाल मैंने काश्मीर के बारे में पूछा था, काश्मीर की प्रभुसत्ता और काश्मीर के बारे में जो बातचीत थी, उसके बारे में पूछा था। उस वकत विदेश मंत्री के जवाब पर आप गौर करें। उन्होंने चार भागों को कहा था :

“कोई हिस्सा दिये जाने का कोई सवाल नहीं है। हमने यह रख कभी नहीं लिया है। मुझे नहीं मालूम माननीय सदस्य ऐसा सवाल क्यों पूछते हैं।”

कभी कोई रख नहीं लिया, काश्मीर के किसी हिस्से को देने की बात नहीं है। फिर वह कहते हैं :

“मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि किसी बातचीत में जब माननीय सदस्य की वास्तविक भावना या रख यह है कि आप को दूसरे पक्ष द्वारा अपना दृष्टिकोण स्वीकार किये जाने की आशा छोड़ देना है फिर बातचीत का अर्थ क्या रह जाता है।”

इसका मतलब यह है कि यह बातचीत करने जाते हैं इस आशा से कि पाकिस्तान इनके दृष्टिकोण को अपना लेगा और इनको पाकिस्तान के दृष्टिकोण के बारे में कुछ करना नहीं पड़ेगा। यह बिल्कुल

इस तरह से लोक सभा की कार्यवाही चलाना और यहां इस तरह की बात कहना बिल्कुल भी उचित नहीं है। बातचीत का मतलब तो यह है कि पाकिस्तान के दृष्टिकोण को सुनो अपने दृष्टिकोण को रखो। इस तरह से बातचीत में दोनों में क्या लेनदेन हो सकता है इसको देखा जाता है। एक तरफ तो कुछ हो नहीं सकता है। इस तरह के जवाब बिल्कुल साफ बताते हैं कि आज तो यह कहा जाता है कि बातचीत खाली अपनी बात समझाने के लिए होगा लेकिन दो चार छः महीने या साल दो साल के बाद कहीं ऐसा न हो जाये कि आप को देना पड़े और तब आप यह कहें कि उस वक्त हमारा मतलब यह था या हमारा मतलब वह था जैसा आज हो रहा है।

मुझे पंजाबी सूबे पर कोई राय नहीं बेनी है। मैंने राय बनाई नहीं और न मैं आपसे राय बनाऊंगा। लेकिन यह आप देखो भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्री जगहरनाल नेहरू का लिखा हुआ है 'मैं क्यों पंजाबी सूबे की मुखालिफत करता हूँ'। आज यह उहर हो गया है न? पंद्रह बरस तक यह उहर आप ने देश को पिलाया है और अब आप चाहते हो कि वह उहर निकलना दो। जब ऐसा काम करोगे तो कहीं जिन्दा जनना मरना वगैरह सब होता रहेगा। छठारह बरस के जमे हुए कूड़े को झाड़ू दे कर भच्छी तरह साफ करो नीति अपनाओ बिना नीति अपनाये अब इस देश का बचाव नहीं हो सकता है।

भारत तेरी कौकी बह रही है, यही मैं अन्त में कहना चाहता हूँ।

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, listening to the debate for the last three or four days I got the feeling that this being a pre-election year the discussions and the criticisms on the budget were distinguished by the political overtones.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It has become a stale argument now,

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** It is quite natural; it did not surprise me. The last speech of the very distinguished hon. Member confirmed that belief into faith. What shocked me most was that although every issue can be connected to the budget and in that parliamentary parlance he was completely relevant—he ridiculed not only the elective process of democracy but he seems to have lost faith in the election itself. I think he is the only leader of eminence in this country who has come forward with this plea that perhaps elections will not be a solution to the problems of this country because he does not see any chance of ousting the government by election. That is how haltingly and hesitatingly he has propounded the cult of violence and overthrow by force. I may not have as much experience in the political life of the country as he has but from what little I have I know that this country would be the last country to go the violent way. If he is hoping that this government cannot be ousted by elective, by democratic method, I think he will have to take another life to successfully overthrow the government by violence in this country. With these words I would like to take back the House to some of the issues arising out of the budget proposals. The budget has been attacked from various angles and as has been pointed out, some of them have cancelled each other.

One of the criticisms made is that non-developmental expenditure and expenditure on administration is going up and if this expenditure is cut down, there would have been no need for additional taxation. It may be a pertinent point but it is an overstated and overstretched argument that because of this increase in non-developmental expenditure and because of the expenditure being met out of revenue surplus the additional taxation along with various other fiscal measures has made this whole scheme inflationary.



[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

I would like to join issue with that policy aspect a little later. This year the increase in the non-developmental expenditure is accounted for by two or three major factors. Firstly, defence expenditure met from revenue has increased from Rs. 290 crores in 1961-62 to 769 crores in the current year. Likewise expenditure on police and the grants to States for police has increased from Rs. 22 crores to Rs. 47 crores. The third factor is the increase in the debt services, which is also non-developmental expenditure and has increased from Rs. 214 crores in 1961-62 to Rs. 372 crores. These three factors account for Rs. 661 crores in non-developmental expenditure over the Third Plan period. Take the next years picture. Non-developmental expenditure excluding certain transfers to States and Union territories will increase only by Rs 95 crores. Here again debt services arising out of the borrowings made internally and abroad account for Rs. 42 crores, almost half of it. Then in defence expenditure there has been an increase of Rs. 29 crores and the border police and various other police expenditure has gone up by Rs. 14 crores. Because of the special conditions in this year, scarcity relief has accounted for Rs. 11.5 crores. Practically the whole of it is accounted for by these four important factors, none of which the House will grudge because the expenditure has been inflationary or escapable.

Now, coming to the increase in revenue expenditure, it has been said that the revenue expenditure has increased by Rs. 220 crores in the next year's budget. But if you take the balancing items like PL 480 and some other items—I do not want to go into those details—the total comes to Rs. 292 crores, of which Rs. 144 crores is transfers to States because of the recommendations of the Finance Commission. There has been a larger transfer of resources from the Centre to the States. Debt services and export promotion and

live measures account for Rs. 66 crores, and the balance of the items are all items which are either social services or developmental expenditure which is committed, because, according to the practice, at the end of five years all plan expenditure becomes committed expenditure, and as a result of that, there has been an increase on this account.

**Shri Sivamurthi Swamy (Koppal):** What is the percentage of expenditure on nation-building and social services.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** I do not have it at the moment. Taking the net increase, I am explaining.

**Shri Sivamurthi Swamy:** Last year it was 19 per cent. I want to know how much it is this year.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** I will have to work it out. The total increase is Rs. 95 crores out of the budget of Rs. 2,400 crores. He can find out the percentage.

**Mr. Chairman:** Is there an increase in the allocation for developmental activity?

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** Yes, Sir. This year.

**Shri Warrior (Trichur):** There is an increase in the aggregate amount but the percentage is lower.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** Another point was made that administrative expenditure or administrative charges are also growing. So far as the coming financial year is concerned, that is, 1966-67, there has been an increase of Rs. 17.87 crores over the current year. This increase is entirely accounted for by police, mainly the border security—Rs. 14.7 crores; provision for general election next year, Rs. 2.5 crores, and Audit, Rs. 1 crore. So, practically, it has been only a very marginal increase in administrative expenditure.

**Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur):** What about the promise that it would be reduced by Rs. 150 crores? It was promised in June, 1965.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** That is true, but it could not be achieved wholly; that figure could not be achieved, but serious effort was made to keep it down.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Did he say, spurious or serious?

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** As for the facts, they will speak for themselves. The point is that the third Plan has stipulated that the increase in the administrative expenditure should not be more than three per cent. The last memorandum said that the administrative expenditure should not increase by more than five per cent. Actually, this year, we have been able to bring it down to a modest figure of two per cent.

**Shri Ranga:** The rat has come out of the mountain!

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** This is the first year at least in which we can claim that a serious effort has been made to cut down the non-developmental expenditure, the administrative charges.

Then, a point has been made that in the Plan outlay, the investment has been less than last year. I will deal with it when I come to reply to criticisms on policy, but the point is, because of a large portion of the developmental expenditure being turned into committed expenditure, the non plan picture looks larger, but this happens every five years. In the beginning of the new Plan—the fourth Plan next year—the Plan expenditure becomes committed expenditure.

Then, a point was made about the utilisation of industrial capacity. It was said that 50 per cent of the industrial capacity remains unutilised. It is true that during the last few months, particularly after the hostilities with Pakistan, when the non-project aid stopped because of the shortage of raw materials, in certain industries the unutilised capacity went up. But there are large areas in industries in which we have become more or less self-reliant. They are; sugar, paper, steel,

cement, aluminium and coal. They do not rely upon, to a significant extent, imports. The output in cotton textile industry has not been impeded by the shortage of cotton. Domestic raw jute supplies have no doubt been inadequate, but substantial imports have been arranged in order that the jute textile industry may sustain production for export. The industries affected by foreign exchange shortage are primarily the modern engineering industries and the chemical industries based on imported raw materials. These are important industries but they count, in the industrial weightage, for a relatively small part of the aggregate output.

**Mr. Chairman:** What about the woollen industry?

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** There has been a shortage, but we are trying; recently an attempt has been made to import more wool. Further, in those industries, the extent of under utilisation may well be considerably less than the figure of 50 per cent, and to say that in the whole industrial sector the unutilised capacity is 50 per cent is very much exaggerating the issue.

**Shri Ranga:** Question.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** The hon. Member should either accept the facts or not accept them.

**Shri Ranga:** That is why I say, question.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** A number of points in regard to the details of the taxation policy were made; in particular, a general point was made that the reduction of taxation could have resulted in the larger yield. A number of hon. Members made it. They said that a point has reached when some of those taxes may be self-defeating.

Now, the state of the economy in this country must be taken into account. Everytime, a comparison of our economy with that of the United States or the USSR or with that of some other countries in western Europe

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which have advanced economies does not hold good, here.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Sir, may I intervene for a minute? It is good that he has raised this point, I agree with him there, but then, that day, when I made a comparison with the economies of the advanced countries—the rate of growth, the national gross product in the agricultural sector, manufacturing and non-manufacturing sector—I made a comparison not only with modern advanced countries, but with Pakistan and showed that Pakistan is better than us in the past six years according to the UN Economic survey.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** About Pakistan, I think the hon. Member should reserve his judgment for a few years, because, I know it is true that the rate of growth in Pakistan is higher than in India. But this is for the last two years only. Their base of the economy is small. Agriculture has done well there. At the moment, their rate of growth may be better. Last year we had a very good rate of growth, but our economy is bound to pick up in the course of years.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I hope so.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** Our economy is much more broad-based. Today we may be suffering from certain temporary difficulties and set-backs. But it does not mean that the Indian economy is in anyway weaker or less viable than Pakistan's economy, although Pakistan today has a higher rate of growth; that is conceded. But I was not on that point. I was on the other point—(Interruption).

**Shri Nath Pai:** Could he clarify what he meant by "temporary"? It is now 18 years since Independence. Is 18 years a temporary period, Sir?

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order. He is explaining.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** It has nothing to do with the point made by the hon. Member. My point was that a num-

ber of hon. Members led by Shri Masani said that actually this tax system has reached a stage of diminishing returns; that the more you tax, the less you get, and therefore, we should do what the Kennedy administration did—or certain other administrations which he quoted—and reduce the tax system and get a booming economy. I was saying that it may be true for an advanced, highly sensitive economy like the USA, that these forces operate because that is a purely demand economy. The forces of demand have the upper hand. In order to increase the demand, you bring down the tax. But our situation is very different. Output is not restricted by lack of demand in this country yet. It may happen when we advance after 5 or 7 years and then the demand forces may be in operation. But today output is not restricted by lack of demand. On the contrary, we need to take every care to avoid undue inflationary pressure on the economy. We need to increase our savings in order to finance our growth. Public savings have a crucial role to play in securing such larger savings. We cannot blindly copy the policies followed in other countries in which the prevailing situation is very different from that in India.

Shri Masani has said that the budget is inflationary because it will raise prices. He has referred in this context to the additional excise duties. I am afraid that Shri Masani is wrong in thinking that all excise duties are inflationary because they may raise prices. In one breath he says that excise duties will raise prices and in the second breath he says that this will cause depression because there are higher taxes. I have already explained why this is not so. We have tried to make the tax system production-oriented, with which I will deal subsequently.

16.32 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Mr. Morarka spoke very eloquently and effectively. But at least on one

point, I want to correct him. Referring to the corporation tax, he said:

"In no other country this rate is higher than 54 per cent; in our country before this increase, it was about 74 per cent i.e., the marginal highest rate, and this 74 per cent would touch very near the limit of 80 per cent."

If he sees the tax system, it will be observed that the maximum rate of tax will be 55 per cent in the case of domestic companies in which the public are substantially interested and 65 per cent in the case of domestic companies which are closely held. In the case of foreign companies, the highest rate will be 70 per cent.

Simultaneously, it is proposed to reduce the rate of surtax from 40 to 35 per cent of the net chargeable profits. The increase in the income-tax payable by a company would also have the effect of reducing its net chargeable profits, which, taken together with the reduction in the rate of surtax, will result in the position that where a company has to pay both income tax and surtax, the net increase in its taxation liability will be very small.

Apart from this, there is also a provision in the Companies (Profits) Surtax Act under which the aggregate liability to income-tax and surtax in the case of domestic companies in which the public are substantially interested is limited to a ceiling of 70 per cent of the total income of the company. This provision is not being changed. The total tax liability of a domestic company in which the public are substantially interested can, therefore, in no case exceed this ceiling of 70 per cent of its total income.

Mr. Morarka made one or two very valuable suggestions, but there are practical difficulties in implementing them. For example, he said we should try to repay our foreign loans in kind, since we get loans in kind—machinery,

etc. Actually this is what we are doing with the East European countries where there is an agreement and for each import, we are able to export. But for West European countries or America, it is difficult because they have no control of their trade. We have to compete in the market; they do not have trade planning. It is good and we can try for it, but the difficulty is we are faced against a competitive market. Therefore, it is a good suggestion, but there are practical difficulties in implementing them.

He said there are certain unnecessary imports. He has referred to imports of staple fibre and art silk yarn. He is a very knowledgeable member and he should know that we do not import any staple fibre; we have sufficient indigenous production of it. There is certainly some import of art silk yarn. This is however allowed only as entitlement against the export of artificial silk fabrics. Otherwise we do not allow any licence for import of art silk yarn.

The hon. member, Mr. Mukerjee, made a statement which surprised me. He said that chemicalised soaps and medicinised cosmetics worth Rs. 8.8 crores are being imported. I asked him whether it is Rs. 8.8 crores and he said, yes. Of course anybody can commit that mistake—I found out that it was only Rs. 8.8 lakhs and not crores. That changes the picture very much.

I come to the general points of criticism. Broadly speaking the budget has been attacked from three points of view. One point is represented by Mr. Masani, who says this budget is inflationary, it will create depression and it is too much dependent on foreign aid, he has forecast doom for this country in the coming months. On the other side, the criticism has been that this is a retreat from socialism and sets its back on all the pronounced policies of the government and the Congress; that this is not a socialist budget. The

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third criticism has been that although it claims to be a production-oriented budget, it is not so. I would like to meet all these three points. Before that, I would like to say that in judging a budget for one year, you have to take a connected picture and not take too narrow and restricted view of the role of fiscal policy in economic development and in achieving the social objectives to which we are committed. These objectives have to be achieved over a period of time and each budget can only make a contribution towards this, consistent with the needs of the economic situation prevailing at the time. The various criticisms of the budget may well spring from a certain impatience, a certain feeling of dissatisfaction with our present economic lot. I do not and cannot deny that during the recent past we have had to face unprecedented difficulties and these may have led to a set back in our economic progress. The present stresses and strains on the economy and certain difficult situations that have been created, do provide ample opportunity for criticism and we should receive it with all approbation. But I submit that we must judge the budget in the difficult background in which it was presented. Looked at in this light, over a period, considering that it is a chain in a series of budgets, I can categorically say that there is no set-back in policies and in Government's basic commitment to economic development and to the socialist pattern of society.

Let me take up the basic criticisms that this is a retreat from socialism. It has been variously described, that it is a budget of a very sordid character and so on. I regret to say that it is a very exaggerated, over-statement. Because, what does our ideal imply? That there should be economic growth, that there should be progressive reduction in inequalities and equal opportunities for all. It does not imply wholesale nationalisation of the means of production nor does it involve abo-

lition of private property or the private sector. If Professor Mukerjee has difference of opinion on this, he is entitled to hold his opinion, but it is a travesty of truth to say that the budget departs in any manner from the Congress ideals as publicly proclaimed.

In the first place, the budget does not in any way reverse the trend which has been firmly established over the years of planned economic development. Much has been said about the so-called decline in Plan outlay. It has been stated that investment has been cut and that is a retreat from Socialism. I shall come to this point shortly.

While a cut in expenditure all round was felt to be necessary in the interests of stability, to siphon-off the inflationary tendencies that are being created in the economy, what has been done is to cut out the frills while maintaining the basic core which is necessary for maintaining development. While we must reduce all unnecessary expenditure, the basic elements for continuous growth must be maintained, and that is what we have tried to do.

Take the public sector, or the development in general. We have ensured that their development is not affected. Because of the serious situation that has been created in the economy, even though we have to cut down certain expenditure, we were able to provide money for basic expenditure on development of agriculture, power, machine building equipments and so on. The fact that we have not taken up any new project of long gestation period, apart from Bokaro, only underlines the point that we are very careful and conscious of the inflationary potential being created in the economy as a result of the set-back in agricultural production and industrial production in recent years. We are careful to see that we must quickly take the benefits from the existing projects, increase the industrial and agricultural production and, later on, when we come to

that stage, embark upon rapid growth. So, this point has been taken care of.

For example, take the public sector. From a small beginning—it was Rs. 250 crores a few years ago—the output this year has reached Rs. 900 crores. The percentage has gone up from 2.8 per cent in 1948-49 to 4.5 per cent. The percentage may appear low. But we must remember that agriculture is out of it because it is taken in the private sector. The public sector mainly consists of the industrial structure. There are some crucial fields like steel, power, basic industries and chemicals where the public sector is going to play a very dominant role. In all these fields considerable progress has been achieved and many of the items are being produced for the first time in the country. It is a major plank in the government's economic policy and the relative shares of the public sector, both in investment and output, are increasing.

Then I come to the question of inequalities in income and wealth. Fiscal policies alone cannot remove inequalities in income. Also, we cannot judge whether a tax system is progressive or not, only by the incidence of taxation. We have to take into account benefits that accrue to the people. A major portion of the taxes goes towards social activities and developing the public sector. Similarly, it is wrong to say that this year also the additional taxation falls on the poorer sections of the society.

So far as direct tax is concerned, relief has been provided for income up to Rs. 7,400 per annum. Even Members of the opposition have welcomed it. By that measure the middle-class people have been spared. Then, the excise duty on cigars and cigarettes is not going to affect the rural people. Even with regard to sugar, we claim that we want to be self-reliant and we want to develop our exports. The basic rationale of sugar excise is that in order to pay for exports the local consumer must pay

it. We must pay for exporting it and therefore we have to give a heavy subsidy for sugar and a part of it has got to come from ourselves. That is the main rationale for that. From this point of view it cannot be said that this year's fiscal policy would lead to any increase or aggravation of the economic inequalities.

The third point that this Budget is not production-oriented is also wrong because the proposals in the present Budget must be reviewed as a chain in the series of budgets. Last year and year before last a number of reliefs and concessions had been given in order to increase production. I would not like to list them all, but certainly we have given tax credits for extra production, increase in developmental rebate for increased production, lowering the rate of import duties for agricultural machinery and various other things we have done. This Budget continues that policy. Therefore in no way will it harm or retard production.

From all the three points of view, therefore, the three angles from which the Budget was attacked, it is unfair to criticize the Budget.

Then, I come to the other side of the thing. It was said that investment was curtailed. As I said, although this year's Plan investment is lower than last year's, if you take the committed expenditure that has been taken out and which has gone to the non-development sector, the overall developmental expenditure and investment does not appear to be low.

Then, the criticism made by a number of people that this Budget is inflationary or that it will lead to depression or that it is too much dependent on foreign aid, is also wrong. Shri Masani suggested, for example, that since there was a revenue surplus of Rs. 200 crores, there was scope for reducing taxation instead of adding to it. He belongs to that old school in which capital expenditure should be met by borrowing or

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

taxation but should not be met by revenue. That aspect of public finance is long dead; it was a pre-war aspect. To speak in the House in the Year of the Lord Nineteen hundred and Sixty-six that because there is a revenue surplus, we should reduce taxation, surprises me. It surprises me how an intelligent person like Shri Masani can put forward this argument. I am sure that he is aware that this so-called theory is long dead.

The point is that the totality of Government expenditure has to be judged and not the revenue and capital expenditure. I would go a step further and say that it is vital in the underdeveloped economies that public savings which correspond broadly to the revenue surplus of the Government and the Government enterprises have to be increased progressively in order to finance development. It is our firm belief that we have to be able to do this in India and that too without detriment to private savings. We have done it. We have increased public savings but on the same hand private savings have also increased because the total savings in the country have gone up.

Taxation is not merely means of transferring resources from the private to the public sector; it is a means of channelling those resources, since in the absence of taxation income would get spent on inessential items. Certainly, we have been trying over a period of years to mop up or curtail conspicuous consumption that is going on in the country and the various ways in which savings are frittered away.

A point was made about kerosene and it was made very strongly. The only point about kerosene is not that an artificial scarcity has been created because we are not importing kerosene but the fact is that at the present moment when there is a shortage of ex-

change we cannot afford to increase any consumption of a commodity which is largely imported. That is the only reason.

Therefore fiscal policy over a period of years and more particularly and pronouncedly during the last two or three years had two objectives—firstly, to curtail consumption of those items which are conspicuous in nature or inessential; secondly, all those commodities which we cannot produce and which we have to import; and thirdly to divert it to the public savings by way of taxation and various other measures to go in for priority of the Plan and the economic development.

**Shri Ranga:** It will be a waste.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** According to Prof. Ranga, it will be a waste. But it will not be a waste to the House and the country. Prof. Ranga lives in his own world of pre-First World-War-days.

Then, another criticism was made that it is more based on foreign aid. Mr. Masani quoted that this year actually we are taking credit for a larger aid as compared to last year. Again, I am sorry I have to correct him that this is not so. He has quoted figure of foreign credits this year from the Explanatory Memorandum where the figure given is Rs. 784 crores. But this includes P.L.-480 counter-part funds and also it does not take into account the repayment of the past loans. If you take into account all that, the figure will be Rs. 140 crores lower than that of last year and, therefore, it is a laudable Budget. Whether through import substitution we have made a strong headway, a good headway, whether we are trying to develop our own techniques, our own raw materials and various other things, whether we increase exports, we have to be more and more self-reliant. Again, this can be achieved over a period of years. If we follow the right policy.

We are trying to follow the right policies. I am not one of those who say that foreign aid is not necessary. In the beginning, it is necessary to develop the economy. But certainly very soon we have to be on our own feet. We cannot go on depending on our own feet. We cannot go on foreign aid. We cannot barter our freedom or our political dignity or our national dignity just for aid. We cannot accept any aid with any strings attached. But in the beginning, in the first few years, we may have to take foreign aid. We have to take it on those conditions which, in no way, interfere with our political freedom. Certainly, we have to take certain steps in the near future, in a period of four or five years, to stand on our own legs, as much as we can, so that whatever we need we get it through our own export earnings. We have to achieve that aim if we want to remain in the present-day world with honour, prestige and dignity.

With these words, I repeat, although political overtones dominated the discussion and the economic considerations—I have tried to meet the criticisms which have been made—that this Budget is a Budget on the right lines. It follows the policies of the Congress which will lead to the progress of the country and the economic growth. Although we have certain difficulties, because of certain factors, whether it is set-back in agricultural production or in industrial growth, whether it is because of the shortage of raw materials or bad monsoons or various other factors, our economy is strong. It is broad-based and its basic strength is there and if there is a national will and the support of this House—and there is the support of this House and the right-thinking people, we will be able to get over these difficulties and we will be able to register a higher rate of growth that we stipulated in our Plan.

**Shri L. N. Bhanja Deo (Keonjhar):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, generally, the Budget is to be welcomed in the sense that it has given certain relief to the marginally low-income group.

But I am sorry the surcharge on the corporate sector which has been imposed on the industries and on direct taxes will mop up certain of the benefits that are sought to be given. Many hon. Members have dealt at length with that. So, I would not go much into that.

I would like to say that another laudable fact of the Budget is that it has done away with deficit financing . . .

**श्री बीर्य (बलीगढ़) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय सदस्य के बाद मुझे अवसर दे दीजिए। मैं पांच छः दिन से इंतजार कर रहा हूँ।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** सभी इंतजार कर रहे हैं।

**Shri L. N. Bhanja Deo:** The recourse to deficit financing has been stopped in this budget. I think that will be a permanent feature and that the deficit will be met by the savings. Generally savings will accrue because we have seen that generally the Government under-estimates the income and by the end when we have the revised budget, there is a colossal surplus which mops up the deficit. In that way I am glad that deficit financing has not been resorted to and in that context I should have been very happy if the civil expenditure had been kept at bay because we find from the last three Plans that it has been gradually going up; unless it is curbed at a point of time, the civil expenditure will be eating up a lot of our revenue. I am very happy that the Finance Minister has thought of giving some reliefs. But the way in which he came to occupy the new chair, he did not have much time to formulate his own ideas. On account of this, he has tried to take away certain concessions which had been enunciated by his predecessor, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari. A year ago when he announced his taxation proposals he specifically mentioned that he had followed the principle of rationalisa-



[Shri L. N. Bhanja Deo]

tion in regard to direct taxes and there would not be any surcharge or other types of taxation on personal incomes. Hardly within a year, the new Finance Minister has dispensed with the sound principle of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari in this respect and we have now a surcharge of 10 per cent on direct taxes.

Another happy feature that the Finance Minister has introduced is the abolition of expenditure tax, which was more irksome than yielding revenue. I am glad that it has been done away with. But I hope that, as in the past when we had seen that once it had been removed and again it was reintroduced, someone else in future will not try to reintroduce this.

Having said that, I would like to quote from the Finance Minister's Economic Survey which is on the right lines because he has appreciated the difficulties of the country through which we are passing. He has stated:

"When the foreign exchange reserves are low and declining, there may be no escape from restricting the imports of even essential goods. Rationing and restraint on even basic consumption are inevitable when crops fall badly. And fiscal and credit policy will have to curtail investment when price increases threaten to get out of hand.

"In short, increased use of fiscal and monetary measures, promotion of competition on the basis of price and quality to the maximum extent possible, a greater degree of mobilisation of resources for investment and the expansion of public investments and saving" have to be followed.

Though this budget is oriented, so to say, to generate more savings, there are certain inhibitions which will come into play and it is worth watching how those react on our economy during a long term.

17 hrs.

Now, I come to two other points which my hon. friend Shri Morarka dealt with the other day. One was regarding devaluation of the Indian rupee. We find from the papers that there is a lot of cross-talk about it; some advocate that it would be worthwhile to devalue the rupee, while others say that devaluation of the rupee at this juncture when we have to get a lot of imports to develop our economy and we have to pay for them, will not be in our general interest. I am at one with what my hon. friend Shri Morarka said very clearly the other day in this connection.

In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the House to an article which appeared in *The Statesman* of the 13th. Though it does not completely relate to our economy, yet it deals with the economy of England on which a general election is soon to be fought, and the question of the devaluation of the pound. In regard to the devaluation of the pound or the reduction of the price of the pound, there is so much of controversy between both the parties in England, on the ground that the economy of England had not been put on a proper footing as it should be. That article applies very much to us, because our economy is also going through those stresses and strains, and the very factors mentioned in that article apply to us also almost in toto in many matters. I would like to quote what the author of that article has to say in regard to the British economy, to an extent how it affects us also. For, want of time, I would not like to quote the entire article, but this is how the author concludes that article. He says:

"The economists and financial technicians have their own learned, and, to themselves, no doubt, lucid reasons why the £ is weak in the markets of the world, said *The Times*. For the

ordinary reader they can be stated much more simply. And without further ado the paper enumerated 27 of our deadly sins, beginning 'because Britain is living beyond her means' through 'because no Government has the courage to face the British people with the truth', to the last, most telling indictment of all: 'because for 20 years leadership has been lacking; soft words have been substituted for hard facts; exhortation has never been followed by deeds; rights have come before responsibilities; the national philosophy has been all take and no give; because the world knows that, however slow the descent the abyss is still at the end of the road.'"

Considering the things as they are, many parties tell us what we should do. We are also facing practically the same thing which England is facing today. We preach many things but we do not try to follow them in practice. That is why we are in this abyss. We have somehow to get out of this rut, and I am sure that the Finance Minister who has a lot of experience in public finance and also the economic conditions the world over will eventually formulate a policy which will help us to tide over this difficulty.

Another important thing which has been said is in regard to the borrowing by the States and the question has been asked why the Reserve Bank is allowing them overdrafts. In that context, I would like to draw the attention of the House through you to one fact. What is the recourse left to under-developed States like the one from which I hail, Assam, Rajasthan or Madhya Pradesh where there is economic potential but it is not being developed properly? Unless the economy is allowed to develop by the growth of roads or a network of railways in those States, how can we expect that a self-generating economy would be ushered in? From my dis-

trict alone, by way of royalty on minerals, Government are getting an income of about Rs. 1 crore. One can imagine from this what the foreign exchange earning of that State would be by the export of the strategic minerals from that one district alone. In that proportion, if we had been given the foreign exchange to develop our area, I am sure we would not have been in that wood for which the Finance Minister is trying to take us to task. In that context, I will also say this, that though this area is teeming with mineral resources, it does not have a steel plant there. Everyone knows that because of the strategic nature of the area and of its economy, if a steel plant were sanctioned there, it would have benefited the country much. I am not pleading for a steel plant only because we have the ore there. But if we take into consideration the basic facts mentioned in the memorandum which our learned and able Governor put before the Planning Commission, it will be proved that the cost of production per ton of steel will be the cheapest in that area alone. Considering that factor, it is very essential to have a steel plant there. I do not dispute the case of Visakhapatnam. If they get a steel plant there, I will be happy . . .

**Shri Basappa (Tiptur):** What about Mysore?

**Shri L. M. Bhanja Deo:** When he gets his opportunity, he can speak. Let me put the case of my area now.

**Shri Basappa:** You are talking of Andhra also.

**Shri L. N. Bhanja Deo:** If we take this factor into consideration and if still a steel plant is not considered feasible in the near future in that area, let us be given at least a blast furnace, according to the requirements of the Ministry of Steel who say that during the Fourth Plan period our production of steel has to go up to 16.5 million tonnes. Considering those requirements, if a blast furnace is granted to that area, I will be very happy.

[Shri L. N. Bhanja Deo]

Again, only the grant of that plant will not do. The basic thing is the cost of production and the export of ore from that area, about which I have already spoken. What I apprehend is the effect of the increase of sales tax from 2 to 3 per cent. I do not grudge the Central Government giving financial aid to the States, but they must consider the basic fact that if this is applicable for the export of ore for the consumption of the iron ore being produced in that area and in different parts of the country, it will increase the cost of production of steel, and we will not be able to compete, in the foreign market. So far as the iron ore exported outside is concerned, if there is imposition of this extra sales tax, it will be very difficult for the iron and manganese ores to cater to the world market which has become very competitive. Considering all these factors, I hope the Finance Minister will give the much-needed relief on these commodities so far as the increase of central sales tax from 2 to 3 per cent is concerned.

I would like to bring another factor about that area to the notice of the House. This area lacks railway communications. We have planned that 2 million tonnes of iron ore produced from my area in Daitari and Nayagarh, which will eventually go upto 5 million tonnes in the course of a few years, have to be exported from Paradeep. So unless Paradeep port, which is the only deep sea port, which has now been commissioned—the other day the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia inaugurated it; that is a very happy feature—unless that area from which the ore is extracted is linked with railway and the cost of transport made cheaper, we will not be able to regain our conventional market in the world. If we haul the ore by road and export it, it will not be competitive. Japan is always looking for a competitive market. She is looking for some iron ore export from Australia which is being developed. Because we were sleeping, our tradi-

tional markets in manganese ore were lost to us. We should not repeat that mistake, and we should from now on be careful to see that we do not lose the much-needed foreign exchange which we get from our exports.

श्री भौर्य : भारतवर्ष अपना लक्ष्य निश्चित कर चुका है। जनतंत्र के माध्यम पर समाजवादी समाज की रचना हमारा प्रयत्न निर्णय है। जाति विहीन और वर्ग विहीन समाज की रचना हमारी मंजिले मकसूद है। इन सिद्धान्तों से सत्ताधारी दल भी पूर्ण रूप से सहमत है।

माननीय वित्त मंत्री के स्वयं के शब्दों में :

“भारत सरकार का बजट हमारी योजनाओं और नीतियों को कार्यान्वित करने का एक प्रमुख साधन है।”

वित्त मंत्री जी के भाष के भाग “क” को सुनने पर मुझे ऐसा लगा था कि वित्त मंत्री प्रकाश की ओर जा रहे हैं, पूरब की ओर जा रहे हैं, उत्तमता की ओर जा रहे हैं लेकिन जब उन्होंने भाग “ख” को पढ़ना शुरू किया तो मुझे ऐसा लगा कि पश्चिम दिशा की ओर उनका खिंचना प्रारम्भ हो गया है। इस तरह की खिंचतान से शोषित समाज का कल्याण नहीं होता है। इस तरह के कनपयूशन से देश का भी उद्धार नहीं हो सकता है।

मैंने अंतरराष्ट्रीय में श्री बलराज मेहता का एक लेख पढ़ा था। उनकी यह बात वित्त मंत्री का जो बजट है उसके ऊपर पूर्ण रूप से लागू होती है। उन्होंने लिखा था :

“Labouring under several pulls and pushes, it attempts to satisfy different interests and objectives which do not necessarily harmonise.”

जो बजट वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने हमारे सामने रखा है उसको एक क्षण भ्राप देखें तो

आप को पता चलेगा कि रेवेन्यू रिस्सीट्स को उन्होंने 2617.12 करोड़ रुपये रखा है और रेवेन्यू एक्सपेंडीचर को 2407.4 करोड़ रुपये रखा है। सरपलस रेवेन्यू तब 209.71 करोड़ रुपये होता है। नये टैक्सों के बारे में जो उन्होंने प्रोजेक्ट रखे हैं और उन से जो प्राप्ति होगी वह 101.51 करोड़ रुपये होगी और इस साल का जो डेफिसिट है वह करीब 165 करोड़ है और इस वर्ष यानी आगे आने वाले वर्ष में वह करीब 117 करोड़ होगा ऐसा उन्होंने बताया है। इस तरह से लगभग 25 करोड़ का गैप बढ़ा भारी छूट जाता है। नये करों की बढ़ोतरी से मेरा अपना विचार है कि 105 करोड़ रुपये की निकासी होगी। एक्साइज ड्यूटीज से लगभग 52.86 करोड़ रुपया और अधिक प्राप्त होने की आशा है और सैटल सेल्ज टैक्स से और अधिक निकासी का अनुमान लगाया गया वह लगभग 19.00 करोड़ रुपया होगा। इस प्रकार से 71.86 करोड़ रुपये का भारी बोझा भूख नंगे बेधरवार शोषित इंसान पर जा कर पड़ेगा। केवल 43.46 करोड़ रुपये की प्राप्ति 10 परसेंट कारपोरेशन टैक्स की बढ़ोतरी से होगी। यह जो सरचार्ज लगाया है इससे होगी। एक हाथ से इस राशि को पूंजीपतियों से लेकर उन्होंने पूंजीपतियों की दूसरी जेब में करीब करीब 44 करोड़ रुपया डाल दिया है, व्यय कर को समाप्त करके बोनस गेयर्ज, धान कर, गिफ्ट टैक्स, सम्पत्ति शुल्क, एस्टेट ड्यूटी, टैक्स धान डिबेंडेंड, आय कर आदि में कमी करके। इस तरह से मेरा विश्वास है कि उन्होंने पूंजीपतियों की जेब में करीब 44 करोड़ रुपया डाल दिया है। 43 करोड़ रुपया उन्होंने कारपोरेशन सरचार्ज आदि से लिया है लेकिन 44 करोड़ रुपया उनकी जेबों में डाल दिया है। इस वास्ते मैं यह कह सकता हूँ किमी तरह में भी कोई भ्रंशुण पूंजीपतियों पर जा कर नहीं लगेगा।

जब हमारे सामने बजट आता है तो एक सिद्धान्त की बात भी हमारे सामने आ

जाती है। जब हम सिद्धान्त की बात को लेते हैं तो हमारे जैसा पिछड़ा हुआ मुल्क, हमारे जैसा गरीब शोषित सर्वहारा मुल्क इतनी बड़ी राशि रखा पर, डिफेंस पर खर्च करना बरदास्त नहीं कर सकता है जोकि कांग्रेस सरकार ने हमारे ऊपर डाल रखी है। भारत के गरीब मजदूरों तथा शोषित सर्वहारा जनता को रक्षा के हेतु लगभग 918 करोड़ रुपया इस वर्ष देना होगा। मैं नहीं समझता कि हमारी तथा हमारे देश की रक्षा इस ढंग से हो सकती है। हम अपने सिद्धान्तों से अपनी विदेश नीति से अपने उसूलों से ही अपने देश की रक्षा कर सकते हैं और उन पर सच्चे रूप से चल कर ही कर सकते हैं। वैसे तो हम ने देखा है कि जहां तक रक्षा का सवाल है जिस वक्त लाल चीन ने हमला किया था तो हमारी फौजें 45 मील की दिन के हिसाब से पीछे घाई थीं। पाकिस्तान का भी जब आक्रमण हुआ तो हम ने इस रक्षा की राशि को देख लिया था, डिफेंस फंड को देख लिया था, इसको किस तरह से हम खर्च करते हैं इसको देख लिया था। अगर हम ने उन की मान मौ वर्ग मील भूमि पर कब्जा किया था तो पाकिस्तान ने भी हिन्दुस्तान की करीब छः सौ वर्ग मील भूमि पर कब्जा किया था। अगर हम ने उनके कुछ फौजी मार दिये थे तो उन्होंने हमारे उससे ज्यादा फौजी मार दिये थे

कुछ मान रीय स्वस्थ : नां नां ।

श्री श्रीचं : नां नां करने से कोई लाभ नहीं होगा। आप रक्षा मंत्री जी से पूछें। उन में आप पूछें कि कितने पाकिस्तान ने हमारे सिपाही कैद किये थे गिरफ्तार किये थे और कितने हम ने पाकिस्तान के सिपाही गिरफ्तार किये थे। इस ढंग से देश की रक्षा नहीं हो सकती है। आप 1500 करोड़ रुपये का डिफेंस का बजट बना दीजिये तब भी अगर लाल चीन का हिन्दुस्तान पर आक्रमण होता है तो हिन्दुस्तान अपनी रक्षा नहीं कर पायेगा। हम को अपनी विदेश नीति में

## [श्री मीर]

कुछ तबदीली करनी होगी। रक्षा पर इस देश का, इस गरीब देश का इतना रुपया खर्च करना मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कोई बुद्धिमत्ता का कार्य है, बुद्धिमत्ता से यह कोई सम्बन्ध रखता है।

श्रीर भी छोटी छोटी बातों में कहना चाहता हूँ। अभी हमारे भगत जी बोल रहे थे। वह अभी दल के नेता से बात कर रहे हैं। वह कह रहे थे कि चीनी से हमें करीब 13 करोड़ रुपये का फारेन एक्सचेंज मिल जाता है। लेकिन आप सबसिडी में कितना देते हैं? करीब बीस करोड़ रुपया देते हैं। एक्साइज ड्यूटी से करीब 21.93 करोड़ रुपये की अतिरिक्त राजस्व प्राप्ति होगी। यहीं भा कर हेरफेर होता है। भारत सरकार का जहाँ तक सवाल है उसको 13 करोड़ रुपया फारेन एक्सचेंज का मिलता है। मैं आपका ध्यान इस ओर खींचना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश की भूखी नंगी जनता जोकि चीनी के लिए तड़पती है इसका ब्लैकमार्केट होता है और जिसको दूसरे मुल्कों में भेज कर आप को कोई अधिक लाभ नहीं होता है इसको बन्द करके अगर आप को फारेन एक्सचेंज ही कमाना है तो मेरे एक सुझाव पर आप ध्यान दें। आप चरम उद्योग की तरफ ध्यान दें। आप ने आज तक स्वाधीनता के बाद से गांधीजी के नाम पर बहुत कुछ खादी भंडारों पर खर्च किया है। मैं आप को विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि जितने करोड़ रुपया आप ने यहाँ पर खादी को उभाड़ने पर खर्च किया है और उससे फारेन एक्सचेंज यदि उतनी नहीं मिली है जितनी मिलनी चाहिये थी, अगर उतना ही घन आप ने इस देश के चरम उद्योग पर खर्च किया होता तो लगभग आप को डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपये की फारेन एक्सचेंज मिल जाती। बाबा साहिब भम्बेदकर ने उस वक्त सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर दिलाया था। कोई भी सबसिडी कानपुर के, आगरे के, दिल्ली के जूते बनाने वाले लोगों को आप नहीं देते हैं

बाबजूद इस बात के कि वे आप को फारेन एक्सचेंज कमा कर देते हैं। उनके जूते रूस के बाजार में बिकते हैं। रूस और यूरोप के मुल्कों में हमारे जूते बिकते हैं। लेकिन आपका ध्यान उस ओर नहीं जाता है। मैं आपका ध्यान उधर खींचता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि आप इसको देखें।

बजट पेश करते वक्त वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान एक सत्य की ओर जरा भी नहीं गया है। यह सत्य यह है कि रुपये की कीमत निरन्तर घटती चली जा रही है। चाहे आप रुपये की कीमत घटायें या न घटायें लेकिन बीड़ी बेचने वाले सिग्रेट बेचने वाले और जिन चीजों पर आप ने एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगाई है या बढ़ाई है उन चीजों को बेचने वाले लोगों ने रुपये की कीमत को घटा दिया है। विश्व बैंक ने भी यह मांग की है कि रुपये की कीमत को आप घटायें। मि० थामसमैन, ग्रंडर सेक्रेटरी आफ अमरीका ने यह मांग की है कि रुपये की कीमत को आप घटायें। लेकिन हमारे वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान रुपये की घटती हुई कीमत की ओर नहीं गया है। अगर 1942 में एक रुपये की कीमत एक रुपया थी तो आज वह घट कर दस पैसे रह गई है। इस ओर वित्त मंत्री ने ध्यान नहीं दिया है। आप अपनी इकोनोमी को चाहे जितना स्ट्रेंगथन करने की कोशिश करते रहें, चाहे जितना उसको कोलैप्स होने से बचाने की कोशिश करते रहें वह कोलैप्स हो जायेगी अगर आप ने रुपये की कीमत को नहीं घटाया।

आप के कार्यों का कच्चा बिट्टा मेरे हाथ में है। आप इकोनोमी की बात करते हैं। यह इकोनोमिक सर्वे मेरे हाथ में है, आर्थिक समीक्षा मेरे हाथ में है, वह आपका फोल खोनती है। इस में कहा गया है :—

“1964-65 में राष्ट्रीय आय में वास्तविक अर्थ में 7.3 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई जबकि 1963-64

में 4.5 प्रतिशत की और तीसरी प्रायोजना के पहले दो वर्षों में प्रीसतन 2.2 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई थी। लेकिन चालू वर्ष में वृद्धि की सम्भावना नहीं है, बल्कि कृषि-उत्पादन में कमी होने के कारण इस वर्ष यह पहले के वर्ष की अपेक्षा कुछ कम रह सकती है।”

यह ध्रापकी उस बात को बताती है जिसके लिए ध्राप हेरफेर करते हैं। 18 वर्ष से किसकी सरकार भारत में रही है, 18 वर्ष तक कौन बजट पेश करता रहा है, कौन सरकार चलाता रहा है, कौन प्राज सरकार चला रहा है? 18 वर्ष में ध्राप भूखों को रोटी नहीं दे पाये हैं, नंगों को कपड़े नहीं दे पाये हैं, खाना-बदोश को मकान नहीं दे पाये हैं, बेकारों को रोजी रोटी नहीं दे पाये हैं और मुल्क में ध्रमन नहीं रख पाये हैं। कौन इस सबके लिए जिम्मेदार है? किस तरह का ध्रापका सिद्धान्त है? कैसे क्या होगा? मैं ध्रम-शास्त्र नहीं पढ़ा हूँ। लेकिन मैं इतना ध्रवश्य जानता हूँ कि ध्रापकी इकोनोमी हमारे कोई काम नहीं ध्रायेगी। वह किसी काम की नहीं है। करोड़ों भूखे ध्रादमियों को ध्राप रोटी नहीं दे सके हैं, नंगों को ध्राप कपड़ा नहीं दे सके हैं, खानाबदोशों को ध्राप मकान नहीं दे सके हैं, जो भूखों मरते हैं उनको ध्राप बचा नहीं सके हैं, शोषित सर्वहारा समाज के लिए ध्राप कुछ नहीं कर सके हैं।

ध्रम में प्रदेशों की ध्रोर जाता हूँ। उनके बारे में भी कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। ध्रापने कहा है कि प्रदेश सरकारों को सौ करोड़ रुपया दिया जाता है। लेकिन वे ध्रोवर-ड्राफ्ट करती हैं, ध्रनध्रायोराइज्ड ध्रोवर-ड्राफ्ट वहां के मुख्य मंत्री कर लेते हैं। इस ध्रोर वित्त मंत्री का ध्र्यान तो गया है लेकिन कोई ध्रंकुश उन्होंने प्रदेश सरकारों के ऊपर नहीं लगाया है जोकि वहां पर रुपये का दुरुपयोग करती हैं और दुरुपयोग ही नहीं करती हैं इस तरह के

बजट भी पेश करती हैं जिनमें घाटा दिखावा गया होता है। यह उन्होंने किस से सीखा है? केन्द्र से ही तो सीखा है। हमारे इस केन्द्र से उन्होंने सीखा। हमारी यू० पी० की सरकार, मध्य प्रदेश की सरकार, राजस्थान की सरकार जब बजट पेश करती हैं तो वह इसी ध्राधार पर पेश करती हैं कि केन्द्र से जो कि उन का साहूकार है जो उन को कर्ज देता है, किस तरह से अधिक पैसा मिल सकता है। ठीक इसी ध्राधार पर हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार ध्रपना बजट पेश करती है कि उस को ध्रमरीका से या विदेशों से किस ध्राधार पर पैसा मिल सकता है। हमारे बजट में यह नीति नहीं कि गरीब मजलूम मजदूर को रोजी रोटी कैसे मिले, रुपये की कीमत कैसे बढ़े, हमारी गरीबी कैसे मिटे, ध्रायिक विषमताओं का पहाड़ कैसे टूटे, ध्रमीर, गरीब की खाई कैसे पटे। वह केवल इस तरह का बजट बनाती है जिस से हम विदेशों को ध्रपनी ध्रोर ध्राकर्षित कर सकें और उनसे ज्यादा से ज्यादा धन सा सकें। इस वृत्ति को रोकना होगा।

मैं कहता हूँ कि यह मि एलेक्शन बजट है। ध्रगर यह मि एलेक्शन बजट नहीं है तो फिर मि एलेक्शन बजट किसे कहते हैं सत्ताधारी दल के लोग। ध्रगर यह मि एलेक्शन बजट नहीं है तो बतलाइये कि भारत ध्रोर पाकिस्तान युद्ध, पश्चिमी शक्तियों का ध्रायिक दबाव, सूखा, ध्रानक सरकार के नेतृत्व में तब्दीली, महान् ध्रानक लाल बहादुर शास्त्री का निधन, उस पर भी यह तुर्रा, यह तमगा कि एक ध्रनजान ध्रादमी वित्त मंत्री बना जो कि ध्रम-शास्त्र का एक शब्द नहीं जानता, जो फाइनेन्स का एक शब्द नहीं जानता, वकालत कर सकता है लेकिन वित्त मंत्रालय के बारे में कुछ नहीं जानता, जब इतनी परेशानियाँ थीं तब इस तरह का बजट कैसे मि एलेक्शन बजट नहीं है। जब इस बार का बजट ध्राया तब हम ध्राशा करते थे कि कोई ऐसी योजना बनेगी जिस से विषमता के पहाड़ टूटेंगे, गरीबी ध्रमीरी की खाई पटेगी।

[श्री मौर्य]

लेकिन ऐसा कोई साधन वित्त मंत्री ने नहीं निकाला। अगर यहां की भोली भाली जनता के लिये यह बि एलमिन बजट नहीं है तो फिर यह टाटा, बिड़ला, डालमिया का बजट जरूर है जिससे तुम घन ले रहे हो बोट खरीदने के लिये, जिस से सत्ताधारी दल घन प्राप्त कर रहा है उद्योगपतियों से। मैं इस बजट का विरोध इसलिये करता हूँ . . .

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब धाप का समय खत्म हो गया।

**श्री मौर्य :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं ने फैसला कर लिया है कि मैं धाप को अब ज्यादा परेशान नहीं करूंगा। मैं लोहिया ग्रुप में शामिल हो जाऊंगा क्योंकि आज तो मुझको समय के लिये भीख-सी मांगनी पड़ती है। मुझे दो तीन मिनट और दे दिये जायें।

मैं इस बजट का विरोध इसलिये करता हूँ कि यह बजट समाजवादी समाज की रचना नहीं करता, समता की रचना नहीं करता भाई चारे की रचना नहीं करता, विषमताओं के पहाड़ को नहीं काटना बल्कि विषमता को बढ़ाता है, अराजकता को बढ़ाता है, यहां पर रुपया इस ढंग से लगाया जा रहा है जिस से गरीब के लिये वह 10 पैसे में रह जाता है और अमीर के लिये वही रुपया पूरे रुपये का पड़ जाता है जिसके कारण विषमतायें बढ़ रही हैं। मैं इस बजट का विरोध करता हूँ क्योंकि यह इन्फ्लेशन को कंट्रोल करने में असमर्थ है, इन्फ्लेशन बढ़ता जाता है। मैं इस बजट का विरोध इसलिये करता हूँ कि वह मोनोपोलीज कमिशन की रिपोर्ट को रद्दी खाते में डालता है। मैं इस बजट का विरोध इसलिये करता हूँ कि इसने १०० एन० 480 को बढ़ावा दिया है, उसने विदेशी मुद्रा को इस भारतवर्ष में, इस देवताओं की भूमि में आने को एनकरेज किया है जिस से हमारी को खतरा बड़ेगा। मैं इस बजट

का विरोध इसलिये करता हूँ कि उस ने इस देश की शोषित, सर्वहारा जनता को रोजी रोटी देने का कोई उपाय नहीं किया है।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Members must speak with a sense of responsibility. Please sit down.

**श्री मौर्य :** एक शब्द में मैं कह दूँ कि इस कागज के बजट में कोई भी अच्छी बात नहीं है। यहां पर श्री चतुर्वेदी जो कि चारों वेदों के ज्ञाता हैं कह रहे थे कि विरोधी दल के लोग पश्चिमी बंगाल में जनता को भड़काते हैं। उन्होंने और भी बहुत सी भद्दी-भद्दी बातें कहीं, लेकिन मैं कह सकता हूँ कि आज देश में ही नहीं, विदेशों में भी लोग जानते हैं कि जिस तरह की क्रान्ति पश्चिमी बंगाल में हुई वह इस देश में अद्वितीय है। इस तरह की क्रान्ति बगावत का तूफान ले कर सत्ताधारी दल के खिलाफ कभी नहीं उठी। इस तरह की क्रान्ति बिहार में आयेगी, पू० पी० में आयेगी, मध्य प्रदेश में आयेगी, राजस्थान में आयेगी अगर भूखे नंगे लोगों का रोजी रोटी नहीं मिलेगी। यह तुम्हारी लोकशाही एक धोखा है तमाम देश के लिये। उस की धज्जी धज्जी उड़ जायेगी अगर हिन्दुस्तान के भूखे नंगे इन्सान को रोजी और रोटी नहीं मिलेगी। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कब रोटी देंगे उन को। मैं धाप के द्वारा सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि भूखे का रोटी कब मिलेगी, नंगे को कपड़ा कब मिलेगा, खानाबदोश को मकान कब मिलेगा। मैं धाप के द्वारा पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अराजकता कब मिटेगी, भ्रष्टाचार कब मिटेगा, बेकारी कब मिटेगी। मैं धापसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि ब्राह्मण और भंगी का फर्क जो इस देश की एकता को खायें जा रहा है वह कब मिटेगा। अगर यह लोकशाही उसे नहीं मिटायेगी तो खून भरी क्रान्ति उसे मिटायेगी। मैं उसको मिटाने के लिये उस क्रान्ति का आह्वान करना चाहूंगा। धन्यवाद।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Freedom of speech is not license. Members must speak with a sense of responsibility.

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** (बाराबंकी) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं ने अभी एक विशेषाधिकार की घबहेलना का प्रश्न किया है। इस लोकशाही का हाल यह है कि इस सदन के एक माननीय सदस्य डा० लोहिया को यहां के एक सिपाही ने रोक दिया। प्रधान मंत्री की गाड़ी यहां से जा रही थी और लोक सभा के सदस्य को रास्ते में पुलिस का सिपाही रोक दे यह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण है . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The member cannot go on like that. You have not been identified and called.

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय बाहर की बात मैं समझ सकता हूँ लेकिन लोक सभा से जब कोई सदस्य जाये तो प्रधान मंत्री की गाड़ी को जाने देने के लिये उसे रोका जाये इस से ज्यादा . . . (व्यवधान) . . मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस सवाल को उठाया जाये।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If you are going to obstruct the House like that, I will have to ask you to go out.

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** मैं ने जो प्रश्न उठाया है वह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। आप सदन के सदस्यों के अधिकारों की रक्षा करें।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. This will not go on record.

**\*\*Shri Ram Sewak Yadav—**

**Shri Bade (Khargone):** We are all interested in this. When a Member of Parliament is going out, can a constable insult him in this way? That is the point of order.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will enquire into it; I do not know what it is. Please give it in writing.

**श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) :** मैं रूल 16 की तहत कहना चाहता हूँ कि पानीपत के अन्दर तीन कांग्रेसियों को जिन्दा जला दिया गया है। इस तरफ मैं इस रूल के तहत आप का ध्यान आकषित करना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की घटनाओं के ऊपर लोक सभा में कोई न कोई ध्यान अवश्य जाना चाहिये वन हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत बड़ी घटना घट सकती है। तीन कांग्रेसी आदमियों को . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. A point of order cannot be raised like this. Mr. Bagri, please sit down.

**Shri Bagri:** Kindly listen to me. आप मेरी बात तो सुनें।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** You have not been called.

**श्री मधु लिखय :** वह आप के लिये अंग्रेजी बोल रहे हैं।

**Shri Ram Sewak Yadav:** He is referring to rule 16. Please hear that.

**Shri Bagri:** "The Speaker shall determine the time when a sitting of the House shall be adjourned *sine die* or to a particular day, or to an hour or part of the same day."

मैं ने नोटिस दी है कि तीन आदमियों को, कांग्रेस के सदस्यों को पानीपत के अन्दर जिन्दा जला दिया गया है। यह कोई मामूली बात नहीं है। जब इतनी बड़ी बात हो जाये तब चाहे काम रॉफो प्रस्ताव न लिया जाये लेकिन कम से कम सदन के भीतर

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** सदन के नेता स्टेटमेंट करें।

**श्री बागड़ी :** इस के ऊपर ध्यान जाना चाहिये ताकि हिन्दुस्तान कोई गलत रास्ता न अपना ले। अगर यही हालत रही तो हो सकता है कि इसके गलत परिणाम निकलें।



**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I do not know what it is. If members want to raise anything, they may please give it in writing.

**Shri Ram Sewak Yadav:** Notice has already been given.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** This is not the way to raise a grievance.

**श्री बागड़ी :** मैं सिर्फ एक मिनट लूंगा प्यादा नहीं ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Mr. Bagri, if you go on like this, I will have to ask you to go out. There is a limit.

**श्री राम सेवक यादव :** मैं सूचना देना चाहता हूँ कि एक बजे नोटिस दी जा चुकी है ।

**श्री राम सहाय पांडे :** उपाध्यक्ष जी, यह सदन राष्ट्र का सर्वोत्तम सदन है जहाँ 22-23 करोड़ जनसंख्या, जो हमारा मतदान-संघ है 22-23 करोड़ वह हमारे म यम से देश के गणतंत्र के प्रति आस्था प्रकट करता है। हम चुन कर के आते हैं यहाँ पर देश की तमाम समस्याओं पर विचार, अध्ययन और कुछ निर्णय करने के लिए। लेकिन सदन की स्थिति, सदन की गरिमा और प्रतिष्ठा पर दिन प्रति दिन जिस प्रकार कुछ माननीय सदस्यों द्वारा आघात और प्रत्याघात हो रहा है, यह निर्णय देशवासी करेंगे एक साल के बाद जब निर्वाचन होगा कि उन्हें दोबारा चुन कर के भेजा जाय या नहीं। मैंने बड़े ध्यान से माने हुए सदस्य डाक्टर लोहिया को सुना। श्रीमन्, क्या कहा उन्होंने? उन्होंने तमाम विरोधी दलों को आह्वान करते हुए यह कहा कि यदि विरोधी दल के सदस्य इस निर्णय पर पहुंच गए हों कि अब इस देश में अहिंसात्मक दृष्टि से कुछ नहीं हो सकता तो बजाय इसके कि वह अपने स्वयंसेवकों को कार्यकर्ताओं को, भाग लगाने या लूटने या विद्रोह करने की प्रवृत्ति में साथ दें अब उनको स्पष्ट

कहना चाहिए कि इसके बजाय शस्त्रालय पर धावा बोलो सचिवालय पर धावा बोलो और इस प्रकार सरकार पर कब्जा करो। मैं समझता हूँ इस सदन के पवित्र वातावरण में यह विद्रोह की बात यह हुंकार भरना इस प्रकार यह विद्रोह और देश में भाग लगाने की प्रवृत्ति को प्रोत्साहित करना यह उस विधान जिस विधान जिस पवित्र विधान को मस्तक झुका कर कि हम यहाँ शपथ लेते हैं और उसके प्रति आस्था प्रकट करते हैं उसके अत्यन्त प्रतिकूल है और जिस जनता के माध्यम से यह गणतंत्र बनता है यह उसका बड़ा भारी अपमान है कि शान्ति के लिए व्यवस्था के लिए गणतंत्र प्रभुसत्ता के अक्षुण्ण शाश्वत रूप से चलाने के लिए हमको जनता भेजती है और हम विद्रोह की बात इस सदन में करते हैं। श्रीमन् गांधी नेहरू और शास्त्री के नेतृत्व में यह देश ने अपनी प्रभुसत्ता के दर्शन किये हैं। सौ वर्ष का इतिहास साक्षी है कि हमने अपने इस गणराज्य को प्राप्त करने के लिए कितनी यातनायें सही हैं? उन यातनाओं में अगर हमारे विरोधी दल के साथी भी हमारे साथ रहे तो वह भी अभिनन्दन के पात्र हैं। जिस कड़ी को जिस विचारधारा को जिस पवित्र गंगा को हम इस सदन के माध्यम से देश के भावनारमक तट को स्पर्श करते हुए प्रवाहित करना चाहते हैं उसमें साथ देना चाहिए। कौन इस बात से दुखी नहीं होगा कि सरकार को गोली चलानी पड़े? दुखी है सरकार भी इस बात से। अनाज की कमी को हम समाधान करना चाहते हैं। जितने राजनीतिक प्रश्न हैं उनके समाधान के लिए हमारे पास शक्ति भी है बहुमत भी है जनता का समर्थन भी है। कई बार कहा गया कि हम नहीं गोली और पुलिस का सहारा लेना चाहते। लेकिन इस बात का भी निर्णय करना चाहिए कि इस प्रकार की स्थिति कौन पैदा करता है?

इसका आत्मनिरीक्षण तो होना चाहिए । नन्दा जी ने बार बार कहा है कि हमें दुख होता है । माननीय प्रधानमंत्री ने भी बार-बार कहा है कि जब ऐसी स्थिति होती है हमें दुख होता है । हम चाहते हैं कि ऐसी कोई स्थिति न आये और हमारी यह प्रार्थना विरोधी दलों से भी है कि ऐसी भवस्था न पैदा करे। कल माननीय कृपालानी जी ने कहा कि बंगाल में 35 लाख आदमी मर गए और उस समय वह जेल में थे । जितने राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में काम करने वाले थे बापू के नेतृत्व में वह जेल गए हुए थे । एक दल था जो जल नहीं गया हुआ था जिसका नाम है कम्युनिस्ट दल । आज वह विद्रोह करते हैं, आग लगाने के लिए, जलाने के लिए जुलूस निकालते हैं, विद्रोह का नारा बेंते हैं, राष्ट्रीयता को भंग करने का पूरा-पूरा षडयंत्र करते हैं । उस समय वह जेल में नहीं थे । बाहर थे । 35 लाख आदमी मर गए । बापू जेल में थे । बापू के कांग्रेसी जेल में थे । लेकिन क्या किया उन्होंने? उस समय क्यों नहीं विद्रोह किया? उस समय वह बर्तानिया के साथ थे । उनकी हां में हां मिलाते थे । उनकी चाटुकारिता करते थे । कहाँ गयी थी उनकी राष्ट्रीयता उस समय? आज विद्रोह करते हैं । आग लगाना बहुत आसान है, आग को भड़का देना भी बहुत आसान है लेकिन आग को शमन करना बड़ा कठिन है । शमन करने के लिए जिनके ऊपर दायित्व है वह जाते हैं । इन्दिरा जी गईं और नन्दा जी गए । जाकर के परामर्श दिया । विरोधी दलों ने कहा कि हमारी यह कंडीशन है कि हमारे नेताओं को छोड़ दो । छोड़ दिया गया । हम प्रजातंत्र के माध्यम से तमाम विरोधी दलों की बात को, उनकी मांग को पूरा करना चाहते हैं और हम उनसे केवल, यह चाहते हैं कि विद्रोह की आग को मत धधकाओ,

जनता के भाग्य से मत खेलो, जनतंत्र की गरिमा को नीचे मत लाने दो । एक बात समझ लो, आज कांग्रेस की सरकार है । कल कांग्रेस की सरकार नहीं भी हो सकती है । वह चीज क्यों बोते हो- विद्रोह के कि जब तुम इस तरफ आकर के बैठो, जब विरोधी दल इस तरफ आकर के बैठे तो वह विद्रोह की आग जिसका श्री गणेश आज हो रहा है, उसकी पुनरावृत्ति बार-बार होगी । इसलिए कभी भी ऐसा मत करो । मैं कहता हूँ कि प्रजातंत्र की सबसे पहली मांग है कि हमको इसे प्रशुण्य रखना है, शाश्वत रखना है । इस वरदान को ऐसा रखना है कि इसमें कहीं छिद्रान्वेषण न हो जाय, कहीं इस पर आघात न पहुंचे । हमें इसकी पूजा करनी चाहिए, विधान की, विधान सभाओं की और संसद् की और ऐसी कोई विद्रोह की बात नहीं करनी चाहिए जिससे जन-मानस में कुंठा पैदा हो । श्रीमन्, मैं तो समझता हूँ कि लोहिया जी ने यह बात कह कर के भ्रष्टा नहीं किया । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यही बात सदन के प्रकोष्ठ के बाहर कहें तो क्या परिणाम होगा? विधान के विरुद्ध षडयंत्र और विद्रोह की बात करेंगे और आगजनी की बात करेंगे, शस्त्रालयों पर और सचिवालय पर धावा देने की बात कहेंगे तो हम क्या करेंगे? जो भी राष्ट्र के संचालन का दायित्व लेकर बैठा है, निश्चित रूप से उसको निर्णय करना पड़ेगा और फिर उनको किमी न किमी कृष्ण-मन्दिर में बैठाना पड़ेगा । हम नहीं चाहते कि ऐसा हो । हमें बड़ा आदर है उनके प्रति । वह हमारे देश के नेता हैं । लेकिन उनका नेतृत्व बड़ा उच्छृंखल-नेतृत्व है । वह नेतृत्व कोई नेतृत्व नहीं कि जिममें आग लगाने के लिए कोई नेतृत्व होता है । छोटे छोटे बालकों में ऐसा आक्रोश पैदा करना कि वह आग लगायें, उसको बाद में शान्त करने के लिए पुलिस जाये, पुलिस पर मार हो, शत्रु गैस छोड़ी जाय, उसके बाद ऐडजर्नमेंट

## [श्री राम सहाय पांडे]

भौशन लाया जाय, और पचास-पचास भादमी उसकी सपोर्ट में खड़े हो जायें और जब मत देना होता है तो पचास में पांच भादमी भी नहीं होते, इस प्रकार हाउस को अपने हाथ में लेकर समय बरबाद करना, वह देश की गरिमा, प्रजातंत्र की गरिमा के विरुद्ध है और इसको नहीं टालरेट किया जा सकता, न टालरेट करना चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, अब मैं बजट के सम्बन्ध में दो शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। वित्त मंत्री ने बजट देश के सामने रखा। उसमें उन्होंने एक बात कही कि यह उत्पादन प्रधान बजट है। कुछ रियायतें उन्होंने दीं। उसके बदले में कुछ टैक्स लगाये। उसमें 101 करोड़ रुपया उनको प्राप्त होगा। श्रीमन्, हमारी यह निश्चित इकोनामी का आधार है और संसार के उत्पादन को देखते हुए हमें इस बात का दुख होता है कि हम सब प्रकार से पीछे हैं। समाजवाद की बात तो हम बहुत प्रागे बढ़ कर करते हैं और चाहते हैं कि समाजवाद आये। लेकिन जब उत्पादन के आंकड़ों को हम देखते हैं तो ऐसा लगता है कि हम उत्पादन में सबसे पीछे हैं चाहे औद्योगिक उत्पादन हो, चाहे कृषि का उत्पादन हो। जब हम उत्पादन को देखते हैं तो तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्त में... (व्यवधान)... मैं तो इन बातों में आपका साथी ही हूँ...

एक सबस्य : प्राग लगाने का कारण तो यही है।

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : इस प्रकार यह बजट अगर उत्पादन प्रधान है, अगर प्रोडक्शन ओरियेंटेड है तो यह आह्वान हमें आरम्भ करना चाहिए किसान से, किसान से इस उत्पादन की प्रक्रिया, उसकी संलग्नता, उसको साधन प्रसाधन को देना यह आरम्भ होना चाहिए।

एक सबस्य : बिलकुल सही बात है।

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : किसान अगर इस देश में सम्पत्ति उत्पादित करेगा तो उसी कच्चे माल को हम प्रोसेस करते हैं। 75 प्रतिशत जो फारेन एक्सचेंज हम अर्न करते हैं वह सब उसी ऐग्रीकल्चर सेक्टर से आती है। चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में आपने 4300 करोड़ रुपये का प्राविधान किया है। अब जरा इसकी एकोनामी देखिए। हमारी जो राष्ट्रीय आमदनी है वह 15 हजार करोड़ की है और उसका आधा हम ऐग्रीकल्चर सेक्टर से लेते हैं। लेकिन हम देते क्या हैं? 4300 करोड़ का प्राविधान 21 परसेंट कुछ के करीब आता है।

17:40 hrs.

एक सामान्य अर्थशास्त्र का विद्यार्थी होने के नाते मैं यही कह सकता हूँ कि जिस सेक्टर से जितना आप लेते हैं उस सेक्टर को उतना ही प्लाऊ-बैक कर के दें तभी सम्पत्ति पैदा होगी, ए मीडियल पैदा होगा और प्रोसेसिंग होगी इंडस्ट्रीज की और फौरन एक्सचेंज हम अर्न करेंगे। हम यह कहते हैं कि हमारे यहां उत्पादन कम है। इसकी खोज अनुसंधान करने पर पता चलता है कि 36 मिलियन एकड़ जमीन यहां पर है। 1 प्रतिशत ऐसे लोग हैं जिनके पास 10 एकड़ से ऊपर जमीन है 10 परसेंट ऐसे हैं जिनके पास 30 एकड़ से ऊपर है, 60 परसेंट ऐसे हैं जिनके पास 1 से 5 एकड़ के भीतर है और 20 परसेंट ऐसे हैं जिनके पास धरती नहीं है। अब आप 60 परसेंट की तरफ आइये। 1 से 5 एकड़ तक की घटती जिनके पास है उनको क्या साधन उपलब्ध हैं न उनके पास बैल है, न फर्टिलाइजर है, न हाईबीड सीड्स है, न ड्रीगेशन है और न ही और कोई आवश्यक साधन है। कोई भी इंडस्ट्रीज यहां पर आती है, छोटी है बड़ी है, स्मॉल स्कूल हो या बड़ी हो उसका एक एकोनामिक स्ट्रक्चर बनता है बैंकिंग फैसेलिटी होती है, एल० आई० सी०

के पास जाते हैं, ट्रस्ट के पास जाते हैं, एक 0 सी 0 आई 0 के पास जाते हैं और वहां से पैसा इकट्ठा करते हैं और फिर कम्पनी को फ्लोट करते हैं। इन्विंटी शेयर, प्रोफेरेणियल शेयर, इश्यू करके उस ढांचे को प्राफिट ऐंशयोर करते हैं। 8 करोड़ परिवारों में किसानों के 6 करोड़ परिवार ऐसे हैं जिनके कि पास 1 से 5 एकड़ तक जमीन है और कोई साधन नहीं है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर से, भगत जी जो, यहाँ बैठे हुए है कि कौन सी प्रापने बैंकिंग फैवेलिटी, क्रेडिट फैवेलिटी उन को दी? उन के पास बीमा क्रीप इंश्योरेंस नहीं है। उनके पास हाईब्रीड सीड नहीं हैं, फर्टिलाजर नहीं है, माइनर इरीगेशन नहीं है और 8 करोड़ में 6 करोड़ परिवार ऐसे हैं कि जो कि साधन हीनता के कारण दबे चले जा रहे हैं। मैं अभी जापान गया था 24000 स्कावायर गज की खेती में 1 लाख 26 हजार का ग्रीस प्राफिट जापान के किसान करत हैं। उन्हें मार्केटिंग फैवेलिटी होती है को प्रापरेटिव बैंक से उनको पैसा मिलता है। उनके पास तमाम साधन मौजूद हैं। मैं यह बात नहीं मान सकता हूँ कि इस आधुनिक संसार में जहाँ पर हम ज्ञान विज्ञान को अन्य देशों से मंगा सकते हैं और उसे देख सकते हैं तो हम क्यों नहीं इस बात को देखें कि जिन साधनों और विज्ञान का सहारा लेकर उन्होंने अपने देशों में उत्पादन बढ़ाया है हम अपने वहाँ वैसा क्यों नहीं कर सकते? मैं इस बात का मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ कि हमारा भारतीय विज्ञान संसार के अन्य जगहों के ज्ञान और विज्ञान से पीछे है, केवल साधनों की बात है लेकिन 21 परसेंट 4300 करोड़ का प्राविधान हम उस को नहीं दे सकेगे। पछिले वर्ष में मैंने इस प्रश्न को उठाया था और श्री कृष्णामाचारी ने जवाब दिया था कि कि हम फौर बी सके आफ ऐक्सपेरिमेंट, बन बैं बैंक खोलना चाहते हैं और प्राप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि बैंकिंग फैवेलिटी प्रोवाइड

करने के दो प्राविधान हैं। ब्लाक सिस्टम पर ब्लाक के अधार पर एक बैंकिंग सिस्टम दिया जाय उसे उत्पादन के लिए इंस्टिट्यूट दिया जाय उनके वास्ते हाईब्रीड सीड का इंतजाम किया जाय, फर्टिलाजर उन्हें किया जाय बैंक से लोन की व्यवस्था की जाय बैंक उन्हें लोन दे इस प्रकार की सुविधायें प्राप उन्हें दें प्राप टोटल डिसेंटलाइजेशन और एकोनामिक पैटन की ले लीजिए और गांव तक चले जाइये, ब्लाक तक चले जाइये और ब्लाक के स्तर पर जो प्रापकी बैंकिंग है उसकी पूरी सुविधा किसान को दें।

श्रीमन् यह प्रॉक कोट करते हुए और प्राप को बतलाते हुए बड़ा दुःख हो रहा है; हम देश को ऊपर ले जाना चाहते हैं। पंचवर्षीय योजना के माध्यम से प्राथिक स्थिति को ऊपर ले जाना चाहते हैं लेकिन यह प्राथिक स्थिति ऊपर नहीं जायगी जब तक हम उत्पादन का माध्यम नहीं बनायेंगे। प्राप देखिये भारत में प्रति हेक्टर में 890 किलोग्राम गेहूँ होता है जो कि संसार में सबसे कम उत्पादन है, जबकि ब्रिटेन में 4,350 किलोग्राम, पश्चिमी जर्मनी में 3,480, संयुक्त प्रारब गणराज्य में 2,610, जापान में 2,540, इटली में 2,090, अमरीका में 1,610 और रूस में 1,050, किलोग्राम गेहूँ होता है। विश्व में गेहूँ उत्पादन का प्रासत प्रति हेक्टर में 1,260 किलोग्राम है।

भारत में चावल की पैदावार भी अच्छी नहीं है। भारत में प्रति हेक्टर में केवल 1,380 किलोग्राम चावल होता है जबकि आस्ट्रेलिया में 6,030, संयुक्त अरब गणराज्य में 5,840, इटली में 5,490, जापान में 5,260, अमरीका में 4,180, रूस में 2,190 और बर्मा में 1,690 किलोग्राम चावल होता है। विश्व में चावल की पैदावार का प्रासत प्रति हेक्टर 1,990 किलोग्राम है।

अब यह प्रॉकड़े बतलाने हैं कि हम कब तक इंतजार करेंगे? हमें उत्पादन को बढ़ाना चाहिए और मिर्सेड एको-

[श्री राम सहाय पांडे]

नामी पर हमें मिडिल क्लास इंडस्ट्रीज को और छोटी छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज को तेजी से चलाना है जिससे कि लोग जिनके कि पास पैसा बच जाता है वह पैसा उसमें लगायें और लगाने के बाद देश की समृद्धि में योगदान दें।

Shri C. Dass (Tirupathi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this is an important year of the budget. The Fourth Five Year Plan is going to begin. I thank you for giving me a chance to speak on the general budget this year. I come from a rural constituency. This constituency of Tirupathi has the good fortune of having the most sacred Hindu Temple of Lord Venkateshwara. Thousands of pilgrims visit the place daily. The temple authorities have provided many comforts to the devotees. The Temple Committee with the kind help of the State Government is running a university and ten 'pledged' colleges, and a number of high schools.

I could not get the chance to speak on the railways. With your permission, I may appeal to the Railway Minister now. The Tirupathi Devasathanam has given the largest quantity of gold for the defence funds. But the most reasonable request of Tirupathi has not been considered. Pilgrims who visit this place in large number from all over India travel by broad gauge up to Renigunta and from there they have to travel six miles by metre gauge. This six-mile journey makes them most uncomfortable. These six miles may be converted into a broad gauge line.

Secondly, the students have to go to ten colleges and to the university from a distance of 20 to 25 miles. There are also thousands of workers going to the spinning mills and factories. They have no reasonable transport. Therefore, diesel trains should be introduced from Pakala to Tirupathi and also from Kalahasti to Tirupathi. On behalf of the Tirupathi Temple and the people of that

place, I invite the Railway Minister to visit Tirupathi this time purely to study the importance of the place. He will also know what income the railways get from the pilgrims. The railways earn many lakhs of rupees every year from the pilgrims.

We had long discussions on food, and we have seen the agitation for a proper scale of food ration in Kerala. We are seeing the agitation for rations in Bengal. We have got the promises from America, Russia, Japan, Germany and other Commonwealth countries.

Sir, I live among poor people. I know the condition of the small and the big landlords. Before Independence, we used to blame the Britishers whenever there was a shortage. Food, clothing and housing are most essential, and we as devoted Congress workers used to preach that after Swaraj, food, clothing and housing would be given to every poor man. But every poor man, every Harijan, every agricultural labourer is working as before, but he does not get enough to eat, enough to wear and a good house to live.

We have had to suffer because of the Chinese and Pakistani attack. But for the last eighteen years, we have not taken proper care to develop agriculture. Government have spent large sums of money on irrigation. Government have given many crores of rupees to the big landlords to increase food production. The big river irrigation schemes may help the big landlords who have lands nearby. The big landlords have received large sums of money. Even if another 18 long years are spent, and double or treble the amounts are given to the big landlords there will not be increase in food production, and the country will suffer if food is not supplied by the foreign Governments.

Agricultural production will increase only if the small cultivators are given the help. They are without

money. There are still greater numbers who depend on land; they work for others; they do not have land; they are the people who can produce more. They can feed the entire population of India if they have land. They need land and small financial help to purchase agricultural implements.

Government have promised to raise the standard of life of the poor in the country. If the poor landless people are given land and help, their standard will be improved. They will feed the nation in return. If land reforms are not honestly and immediately implemented, the food problem cannot be solved for ever; this is my honest opinion and it is a challenge which cannot be faced.

Jagirs have been abolished, ceilings on land have been fixed. But the landless did not get the land. Here and there some received land which was bad. But no financial assistance was given. How can a poor man get money to cultivate? How can the production increase? Government should distribute surplus lands and also give subsidised agricultural tools.

In the whole country, there may not, in my opinion, be an area like Royalseema. My constituency is very much in this area. Once in ten years there is a famine in this area. Even drinking water becomes scarce. When the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Chittoor in 1951, he wondered how any human being could live in such a famine-haunted area. But nothing has been done to improve this unfortunate Royalseema.

Anyone who would visit this area will understand the difficulties. The Government of India are spending thousands of crores of rupees in other places. They should at least spend a few crores for Chittoor and other Royalseema areas. This area need, deep tube wells, wells of 80 to 70 feet depth. Electricity and well irrigation are most needed for these districts.

These districts are not only facing shortage in water, but they are also in need of industries. Sugarcane can be grown here. A number of sugar factories can be set up especially at Renigunta, Spinning mills can be located at Puttoor, Nagari or Narayanvanam, since they are famous centres for sarees and dhoties.

Our leaders have been rightly speaking for socialism. They want to establish a socialist pattern of society. The caste system has to go. The Constitution has provided punishment for the offence of the practice of untouchability. But all reports have said that there is no village where untouchability is not practised.

Gandhiji and Nehruji wanted that the Harijans should be helped to come on level with others. They wanted good education to be given to them. The Constitution has granted these facilities. But without knowing how many have benefited from this, the Health Ministry wants to withdraw reservation in technical, medical and other colleges. Any Ministry trying to do away with reservation will be doing a great disservice to the Harijans and also to the nation.

The condition of Harijans has not yet become economically sound. Their conditions in the villages are still not very good. They do not enjoy special tuition like the others. Their failures in schools and colleges are more. The reasons for this are many.

I want that special examination should be held for Harijans to qualify for the IAS, IPS and I.F.S. Hostels for Harijans should be attached to every high schools and college. The State Governments have no funds for admitting more students in hostels. So this should be a Central Government responsibility.

Reservation of seats for Harijans in Public Schools and Sainik schools should be made. Housing subsidy must be enhanced and it should be from Central Government funds. The State Government provides about 10 to 30 houses in a district. In this manner

[Shri C. Dass]

even after 300 years, the Harijans cannot think of their own houses.

There should be separate funds to help the Harijans from the department of small scale industries and cottage and village industries.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is all for State Governments.

**Shri C. Dass:** There must be a separate Harijan Welfare Ministry like the Rehabilitation Ministry for the welfare of Harijans and Adivasis.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Veerabhadra Singh.

श्री न० प्र० यादव (सीतामढ़ी):  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे भी भ्रक्षर दीजिए।

**Shrimati Maimoona Sultan (Bhopal):** rose—

श्री शिव नारायण (बांसी): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, लेडी मेम्बर दिन भर से इन्तजार कर रही हैं। पहले उनको मौका दीजिए।

श्री बीरभद्र सिंह (महामू): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका बड़ा मशकूर हूँ कि आपने मुझे बजट पर बोलने का अवसर दिया। इतने घंटों की इन्तजार करने के बाद अब न बोलने की तमन्ना है और न जोश, मगर अपना फर्ज समझते हुए और यह समझते हुए कि आगे चल कर बोलने का अवसर मिले या नहीं, मैं अपने कुछ शब्द सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री को उनके 1966-67 के बजट के लिए मुबारकवाद पेश करता हूँ। यह एक अच्छा बजट है और मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ। आज हमारा देश एक बहुत नाजुक घड़ी से गुजर रहा है। हमारे सामने कई किस्म के संकट हैं। आज हमें आर्थिक संकट, खाद्य समस्या और उसके साथ साथ विदेशी मुद्रा की कमी से उत्पन्न संकट का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने बजट-भाषण में और आर्थिक समीक्षा में जो उन्होंने इस सदन के सामने रखी है, इन सब बातों के बारे में अच्छी तरह से जिक्र किया है। इसलिए जिस वक्त हम इस बजट पर बहस करें, तो हमें चाहिए कि हम इन बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए, इस पृष्ठ-भूमि में ही इस बजट को देखें और इस पर चर्चा करें। मुझे इस बात की बड़ी प्रसन्नता है कि इस साल के बजट में माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स...

श्री श्रीकार लाल बरवा (कोटा):  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हाउस में कोरम हो है।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am sorry there is no quorum. The House stands adjourned.

17.59 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday 17 March, 1966/Phalguna 26, 1887 (Suka).